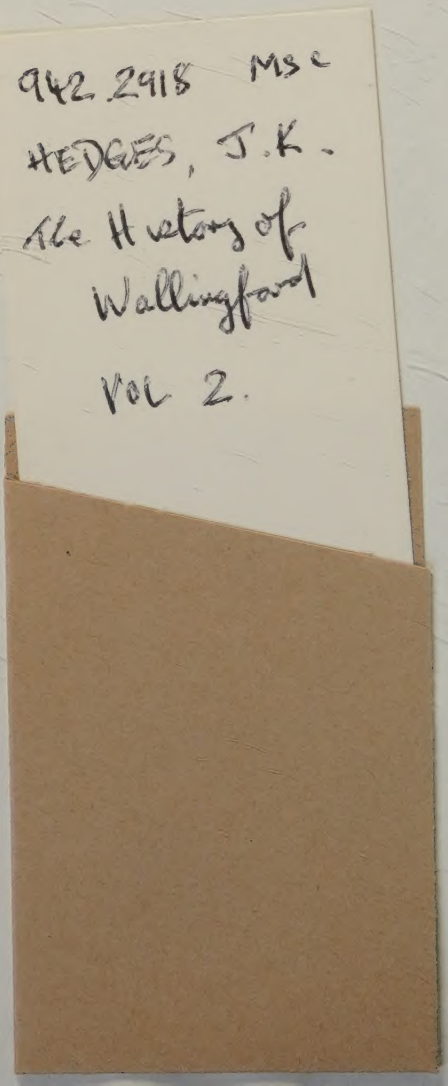
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THE

HISTORY OF WALLINGFORD,

IN THE COUNTY OF BERKS,

FROM THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR
TO THE PRESENT TIME.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF ITS CASTLE, CHURCHES, AND MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS.

EMBRACING HISTORICAL NOTICES OF ADJACENT PARTS, AND AN ATTEMPT TO FIX THE TRUE SITE OF

CALLEVA ATREBATUM.

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RUINS OF St NICHOLAS' COLLEGE, WALLINGFORD.

THE HISTORY OF WALLINGFORD.

CHAPTER I.

EDWARD III. AND RICHARD II.—1327 TO 1399.

A.D. 1327, 1 and 2 Edward III.

A COUNCIL of Regency was appointed by Parliament to carry on the government during the minority of the young king, who was then in the fifteenth year of his age, and the Earl of Lancaster was appointed guardian and protector of his person. Neither the queen nor Mortimer, though in the plenitude of his power, had a place in the Council. Still she usurped the regal power, as appears by the writ mentioned below, and her paramour assumed all the pomp and consequence of princely rank, under the title of Earl of March; the Castle of Wallingford, as the dower inheritance of the queen, being doubtless one of the palaces in which this display of pageantry took place. We have seen that the late king appointed William de Mareschal Constable of Wallingford Castle; the queen by a writ,* in which she styles herself "Queen of England, Lady of Ireland, and Countess of Ponthieu," deprived him of the office, and commanded him to deliver all the arms and provisions in his custody at Wallingford Castle to Sweyn de Mortel. Sweyn's tenure of the office was of short duration, for in A.D. 1329 the king not only restored the custody of the

* Rot. Orig. Abbreviatio, vol. i. p. 303.

Castle to William de Mareschal, but gave him the stewardship of the Honors of Wallingford and St. Walerie.*

With this little incident, the exercise of sovereign authority, in apparent opposition to the queen, seems for a time to have ended, for it was in the same year that Isabella and her paramour designed the murder of the Earl of Kent, by procuring his condemnation for an impossible treason. The king directed all his efforts with his mother to rescue his uncle from so barbarous a fate, but without success; and yet so general was the public indignation, that the only person who could be induced to carry out the sentence was a condemned felon, who obtained his pardon by performing the office of executioner, after the unfortunate Plantagenet had been kept on the scaffold for five long hours.†

At length the young king arrived at an age to think and act for himself. He was now eighteen years of age, and could no longer shut his eyes to his mother's infamy, or be held in fetters by a wicked and insolent minister. The cruel deaths of his father and uncle were avenged by the arrest of the hardened rebel Mortimer in the queen's chamber in the castle of Nottingham, and his speedy condemnation by the Parliament there assembled, and execution. He was the first person whose body hung on the gibbet at Tyburn, then called "The Elmes." His capture was partly effected by Sir John de Molinès, who entered the castle at night-time, and whose descendants are afterwards mentioned in connection with the town of Wallingford. The unhappy partner of Mortimer's worst crimes was spared the ignominy of a public trial, by the intercession of the pope, and, as a prisoner, spent the long years of her widowhood at Castle Rising, in Norfolk. The captive queen gave into the king's hands all the castles and estates which formed her dower—Wallingford being one of the castles in which she released her interest, with the Honor, which was surrendered also.

A.D. 1330. Peter de Wallingford was instituted in this year Rector of Middleton Keynes, in Buckinghamshire, on the presentation of Sir Philip de Aylesbury. Miles Crispin had large possessions in this parish.

After the execution of Mortimer, Edward III. kept the

* Rot. Orig. Abbreviatio, vol. ii. p. 40.

† Leland, "Collectanea," vol. ii. p. 477.

Castle and Honor of Wallingford in his own hands for some time, and then bestowed them, together with the Honor of St. Walerie, on his brother John, surnamed of Eltham, second son of King Edward II., who was advanced to the title of Earl of Cornwall.*

About this time, the custody of the Castle was transferred to John de Stonore, an ancestor, no doubt, of the present Lord Camoys, of Stonor Park, in Oxfordshire. The date is uncertain; but in the year 1340, Sir John de Stonore was chief justice, and, with the keeper of the privy seal, and the Lord Mayor of London, incurred the king's displeasure during the domestic disturbances that arose owing to the imposition of the wool tax.†

A.D. 1334. On the death of John de Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, unmarried, without issue, the Castle and Honor of Wallingford reverted to the king, who confirmed to Robert de Bongeye or Bougent the office of steward or bailiff of the Honor, which had been granted to him by John, late Earl of Cornwall.‡ According to "The History of Bucks.," the earl's death took place two years after the date above quoted, namely, in 1336.

A.D. 1335. As in previous reigns, so in this, the Castle and Honor were held with the earldom of Cornwall, which, after the late earl's death, was erected into a dukedom.§ The origin of the connection between the Honor and the earldom is not known, but, as before stated (13 and 14 Henry I.), there is reason to suppose that it may be dated back to the time of Brien Fitzcount. For nearly four centuries the connection seems to have subsisted, although no formal annexation appears to have taken place till A.D. 1335, when an Act of Parliament passed, by which the duchy of Cornwall and all castles, Honors, lordships, manors, lands, and hereditaments reputed to be part thereof, were settled on the eldest sons of the Kings of England in succession.

Under this special Act, the Castle and Honor of Wallingford, as part of the duchy, became the inheritance of the heroic Edward, surnamed the Black Prince.‖ He was born at the Palace of Woodstock, in June, 1330, and such was

* Gough's Camden, vol. i. p. 158. † Hume, vol. ii. p. 153.
‡ Rot. Orig. Abbreviatio, vol. ii. p. 118.
§ Gough's Camden, vol. i. p. 158. ‖ Ibid., p. 158.

his great beauty, and so perfect was his figure, that the infant and his mother Philippa formed the favourite models for the Virgin and Child at that era. At the Parliament held at Westminster the next year, the prince was invested Duke of Cornwall; and from that time to the present, the dukedom has remained in the Crown, the eldest son and heir-apparent of the King of England being Duke of Cornwall by birth. Up to the time of King Henry VIII., the Castle, town, and Honor of Wallingford were among the many possessions settled to support the dignity, the collection of the revenues and superintendence thereof being entrusted to the steward or treasurer of the royal household.

In this year (1335) died Richard de Wallingford, Abbot of St. Albans, a great celebrity as an astronomer and mathematician, of whom some account is given in Part II., under the head of "Priors of Wallingford."

A.D. 1341. The duties of the Priors of Wallingford were not confined to the cloister; but in this reign, if not in other reigns, extended to fiscal and secular matters in connection with the State, within the Deanery of Reading. There is a curious record in the "Inquisitiones Nonarum," giving the return of the jurors at a court held by the Prior of Wallingford at Reading, 15 Edward III. (1342), to determine the value of the ninth part of the corn, wool, and lambs, granted to the king from the Rectory of Bray, in this county. A grant to the above extent in every parish in England, was made to Edward III., as an aid for the conquest of France.

[*Translation.*]

"Deanery of Reading.

"John de Shobenhangre, John atte More, Robert de Shyplake, Hugh de Normanville, John de Crucgheffelde, William de la Rokele, John de Mereworthe, Roger de Carsswelle, William le Palmere, and Thomas Eyst, being sworn before the Prior of Wallingford, and his assistants the collectors and disposers of the ninths of the corn, fleeces, and lambs, at Reading, on Monday next before the Feast of St. Valentine, 15 Edward III. (1341–2), relative to the value of the ninth of corn, etc., granted to our lord the king

by the commonalty of the whole realm, declare upon their oath that the ninths, etc., within the parish of Bray are worth thirty-five marks per annum. And because the Abbot of Cirencester, rector of the church aforesaid, which is valued at fifty-five marks, holds one messuage and four virgates (about 100 acres) of land within the taxing aforesaid, which are worth forty shillings per annum; and the same abbot holds four pieces of meadow, with pastures, fisheries, rents, and other liberties, belonging to the said church, which are worth four marks per annum; and the same abbot, and the vicar of the same church, have within the taxing of the said church the tithe of the whole meadow, which is worth forty shillings per annum; they also declare that to the vicarage of the said church, which was included in the said valuation of fifty-five marks, pertain the mortuaries, the tithes of the young of animals, calves, pigs, flax, hemp, milk, and other small tithes, which are worth ten marks per annum. Therefore the said ninths, etc., do not amount to the value of the taxing of the aforesaid fifty-five marks. In testimony of which, to the present indenture, the jury aforesaid have placed their seals.

"They say also that there are no dealers nor victuallers in the vill aforesaid."

At another court held by the prior about the same time, Richard de Cherdesle and others, being sworn before him and his brethren, as jurors, found the ninth part of all sheep, corn, and wool, at Chiltone, in the county of Berks, to be of the values therein set forth. And they added to their finding, that since the new market had been established by Emeric de St. Amand, at East Hildesle (now Ilsley), within the last three years, the king's market at Wallingford had in consequence received great injury.*

It is probable that the prior's court consisted of commissioners appointed by the Crown for ascertaining the value of the taxes arising from the produce, and for making returns to the Exchequer, and that the Prior of Wallingford was the head of the commission.

* Nonæ Rolls; Kerry's "History of Bray;" Hewett's "History of the Hundred of Compton."

A.D. 1343. In this year Parliament granted to the king an aid of 30,000 sacks of wool.* The aid, it will be observed, is in wool, and not a money tax on wool. A similar levy was made in the previous reign. The Corporation of Wallingford had been twice before subjected to a heavy fine for not appearing at the Court of Exchequer, and rendering their dues at the annual receipt; and if we are to infer that the Court of Exchequer was the established emporium for the delivery of the wool in bulk, it must have been rather an onerous duty for the authorities of a borough fifty miles distant to perform; they would have gladly availed themselves of the services of their prior to assess the tax in money, rather than deliver in bulk a commodity which had been levied in their neighbourhood.†

A.D. 1346. Sir John de Molines, who was one of those devoted royalists who entered the Castle of Nottingham, as before stated, and captured Roger de Mortimer, in 1330, obtained this year a release from Edward, Duke of Cornwall, of 33*s.* 6*d.*,‡ yearly rent for certain lands held by him of the duke, in the manor of Bensington, part of the Honor of Wallingford; and likewise the confirmation of the charter granted to him, in the tenth year of this reign, of certain manors in the county of Buckingham, to hold by the service of being keeper of the king's hawks and falcons. The descendants of this family of Molines had possessions in and near Wallingford, and some of them were buried in the parish church of St. Peter, as after mentioned.

A.D. 1349. In this year—not 1343, as has been stated—Wallingford was again afflicted with a destructive pestilence, which is said to have swept away the greater part of the inhabitants. Among those who died of the plague in the Castle, were a lady named Savage, and James of Bobbing, who were attached to the household of the Prince of Wales. This pestilence was not confined to Wallingford. The writer in one of the volumes of "The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain during the Middle Ages," mentions "a series of mysterious dispensations of Providence" which occurred in this and the following years. The great pestilence of the

* Strickland, vol. ii. p. 290.

† Walters, "History of England."

‡ Dugdale, "The Baronage of England," tom. ii. p. 145.

year 1349,* he says, commenced in England in the month of July, and after desolating the island, it began to cease here towards the end of August, and passed over into France, and there raged with still greater intensity. According to Speed, rain fell with little intermission from Midsummer to Christmas, and this terrible plague was followed by murrain of cattle, and dearth of all things. The pestilence, adds the former author, compelled the King of England to refrain from hostilities. In the city of Oxford so great were the ravages, "that the schools were shut up, more than one-fourth of the scholars having fallen victims, and there were scarce enough left in the city to bury the dead." † In the city of London the mortality averaged for several weeks two hundred a day.

A.D. 1351. "John Campden, Vicar of the Holy Trinity Church, at Wallingford, changed livings with Walter Rynebell, Rector of Ilsley." I had classed the Holy Trinity Church as conventual only in the description of the churches in Part II., but that it was also parochial, appears clear from the above extract and the frequent reference to the "parish of the Holy Trinity" that occurs in the muniments of the corporation.

In this year the king a second time tampered with the coinage, making a considerable profit by giving a fictitious current value to the silver pence,‡ in excess of the actual value. Such was the pressure upon the exchequer, that the king was driven to adopt this wretched device, after pawning his royal crown, and Queen Philippa's jewels. The mint at Wallingford must have had its share of work in carrying out the royal decree.

A.D. 1361. A long attachment had subsisted between the Black Prince and Joan, daughter of his uncle Edmund, Earl of Kent, known as "The Fair Maid of Kent," who made the Castle of Wallingford her chief place of residence in after years, as did also the prince, when he was not engaged in foreign wars; but the king and queen objected to their union, on account of "the flightiness of the lady's disposition," says Miss Strickland, and it is clear from Froissart, that some

* Other authorities give 1346-47 as the date, as well as 1343.

† "History of Oxfordshire."

‡ Walters, "History of England," p. 203.

scandalous stories were freely circulated about her. After vainly hoping for the royal consent to her union with her cousin, Joan gave her hand to Sir Thomas Holland,* in her right made Earl of Kent, but still the Black Prince remained a bachelor. By Sir Thomas she had two sons, Thomas and John, distinguished persons in the court of Richard II., though the latter gained an unhappy notoriety in the fatal encounter with Lord Stafford. She became a widow on the 26th December, 1360, and in the next year married the Black Prince. "She was then thirty-three years of age, of great beauty, and uncommon accomplishments, the most admired lady of that age," says Speed. She survived the prince nine years, and died of grief at the Castle of Wallingford, in the year 1385.† The remarkable incident that is supposed to have led to her death is referred to hereafter. Her will is dated from this Royal Castle on the 7th day of August in that year.

In the same year (1361), John de Grey, Baron of Rotherfeld, settled upon his son, on his marriage, his manors of Shobinton (Shabbington), com. Bucks., and Somerton, com. Oxon, with a rent-charge of sixty pounds per annum, out of his lordship of Rotherfeld, which from this family took the name of Rotherfeld-Greys,‡ as the other Rotherfeld did that of Pipard, being held of the Honor of Wallingford, as a part of six knights' fees granted upon homage to William, son of Roger Pipard, in 9 Henry III.§

In the Hundred Rolls, A.D. 1364, Bradwell, in the county of Bucks., is stated to have been holden under the Honor of Wallingford, and the Honor of Marshall, and *therefore* not liable to pay scutage. These lands belonged to Miles Crispin, and the privileges and exemptions he possessed are thus shown to have been enjoyed by subsequent possessors.‖

The Black Prince augmented the College of St. Nicholas, in the Castle, as stated more fully in Part II.

The magnificent castle of Windsor was built by Edward III.,¶ and the method he adopted for conducting the work was by levying, on every county in England, a certain

* Brady's "History of England," p. 323; Strickland, vol. ii. p. 336.
† Lysons, "Magna Britannia," vol. i. p. 396.
‡ Dugdale, "The Baronage of England," tom. i. p. 724.
§ Ibid., tom. ii. p. 8.
‖ Leland's "Itinerary," vol. ii. p. 13. ¶ Hume, vol. ii. p. 223.

number of workmen. The assessment made on the county of Berks for the supply of masons, tilers, and carpenters, must have taken away a large number of hands from this town, then probably the largest in the county, notwithstanding the pestilence, which had been equally fatal in other places.

A.D. 1376, 50 Edward III. The Prince of Wales died this year, having been the possessor of the Castle and Honor of Wallingford for upwards of forty years; whereupon these possessions, with the duchy of Cornwall, descended to his son Richard.

The following inquisition * refers, among other things, to Wallingford Bridge, an account of which will be found in a separate chapter:—

"Inquisition taken at Wallingford, the 25th of May, 51 Edward III., before Nicholas de Somerton, escheator; upon the oath of Henry Roding and eleven others named. Who say that William Goldsmyth, of Walyngford, in the said writ named, did not hold any lands or tenements in the said county (Berks) of the lord the king, *in capite*, in demesne, or in service, at the day of his death; but that he held one messuage with the appurtenances, in Walyngford, at the day of his death, of the Lord Bishop of Winchester, in fee, by the service of sevenpence and one farthing rent per annum, which by his will he bequeathed to Roger Cole and Richard Stokebrugge, then stewards and custodians of the fabric, and repairs and improvement of the bridge of Walyngford, to hold to them and their successors for ever, for the repair, improvement, and upholding of the same bridge. And they say that Christiana, wife of the same William, occupied the same messuage according to the custom of the borough of Walyngford, after his death, for twenty-one years, until she died; and after her decease the aforesaid Cole and Stokebrugge, the stewards, entered into the same messuage by virtue of the bequest aforesaid, and occupied it for one whole year, and then enfeoffed thereof Thomas Reignald, of Walyngford, to hold to him and his heirs for ever, which same Thomas, during the whole time afterwards, occupied the said messuage, and still occupies under the title aforesaid. And they say that the said messuage is worth yearly in all issues, according to the true value of the same, two shillings. And

* Inq., p. m. 51 Edward III.

they say that the same William hath no heir that they know of. In witness, etc."

Among the miscellaneous documents in this reign belonging to the corporation are the following :—

A royal precept to the Bailiffs of Walyngford, in Latin, with a fragment of the great seal appended, dated at Westminster, the 29th of July, 37 Edward III., ordering them, without delay, to do right to Nicholas Tannere, as to 2 shillingsworth of rent in Walyngforde, which he claims to hold of the king, by the free service of one penny yearly.

A similar precept, in Latin, dated the 6th of June, 38 Edward III., enjoining that right be done to John James, of Walyngford, as to two messuages there, which he claims to hold of the king, by the free service of one penny yearly.

A sheet of parchment, the entries in Latin, being the minutes of two views of frankpledge held at Walyngford; the second on Wednesday, the Feast of the Decollation of St. John, in the 43rd of Edward III., before John James, mayor, William de Harewell, Nicholas Tannere, and Henry de Redyng, aldermen.

Richard atte Feld heads the list of jurors, and among them Roger Milebourne and Alexander Louches are the only names, apparently, representing the then old families of this place. They present certain men for selling ale by false measures, and refusing to sell in any other way. They present that Master Raynald puts timber in the king's highway, and he is "therefore amerced," but the amount is not stated. Also that Simon Thecchere (thatcher), John Tylere, and Bartholomew Tylere, with two others, work by journey work (*laborant per dietas*), and charge in excess, against the Statute (of labourers). These persons, being present, are spoken to thereon, and submit to amercement, their fines being 12*d*., 20*d*., and in the cases of the three labourers above named, 3*d*. respectively. William Clobbo is presented for placing dung in the king's highway, called "Castelstrete," and fined 18*d*. The jurors present that the watercourse at Payables Goter, which runs towards Englisdich, is obstructed by default of Isabel Payable and three others; therefore they are amerced. They present that the king's highway at Maseneslane is obstructed by things put there by Henry Derne and John Brown; therefore they are amerced. Many

persons are also presented for putting dung in the highway, and amerced; among them, William Harewell (probably the alderman so named), who is fined 3*d*. Others are amerced for throwing the stinking entrails of animals there. The Master of St. John's is presented for making a purpresture by ploughing in the king's highway, and amerced in the sum of 2*s*.

At the view of frankpledge mentioned on the obverse of this leaf, and prior in date, being the 42nd of Edward III., before the mayor and aldermen previously mentioned, Adam Masun is presented for residing against the assize (*residet contra assisam*), and fined 3*d*. The watercourse in Courteys lane is stopped up, and overflows into the highway through default of Walter atte Hegge, who is amerced in 6*d*. Macheneslane is stopped up, through default of John Panes (apparently), who is amerced in 6*d*. Several persons are amerced for placing dung in the king's highway, called "Wodestrete." The highway towards the Thames has been stopped up by a hedge; it is therefore ordered to be rooted up. William Arnyat is fined 6*d*. for selling unsound meat. Roger Arnyat, baker of horsebread, is fined 6*d*. for breaking the assize. Twenty persons or more are presented for selling ale by false assize, and refusing to sell it out of their houses (*et renuunt vendere extra domum*), and are therefore amerced; two of them being aldermen, namely, William de Harewell, who is fined 3*d*., and Henry Redynge, over whose name no sum is entered. The ale-tasters have not done their duty in a proper manner; therefore they are amerced. John Tylere has raised the hue upon Alice Glasiere, unjustly; therefore he is fined 3*d*. Sarra, the servant of John Batard, has raised the hue upon the said John, justly; therefore John is amerced in 6*d*. Katharine, the servant of Roger Cole, has raised the hue against Matilda Dere, justly; therefore Matilda is fined 3*d*. John Muleward and Thomas Muleward have taken toll unjustly; they are therefore fined, respectively, 7*d*. Two women are fined 6*d*. each for forestalling. The jurors say that the common pound (*parcus*) ought to be within the close of the Hospital of St. John, but that the master of the house forbids it; precept was therefore given to distrain him.*

* Hist. MS. Comm. Report, vi. p. 581.

A.D. 1377, 1 Richard II.

No plan of government had been established by the late king to take effect during the minority of his grandson, who was not quite eleven years old when he succeeded to the throne. Parliament, therefore, supplied the omission, and appointed a Council of nine to conduct the ordinary course of business. But, says Hume,* "as to the regulation of the king's household, they declined interposing in an office which they said both was invidious in itself and might prove disagreeable to his Majesty." Hence we find that one of the earliest acts of Richard was to appoint the officers in the Royal Castle of Wallingford. Albert de Vere was constituted constable. Roger Hurst, groom of the chamber, had a grant of the office of porter, with the wages of twopence each day during his life for his maintenance; "to take the said wages out of the profits of our seignory of the said place, by the hands of the receiver and provost, together with the other profits due and accustomed to the said office, like as other porters there have had hitherto in the lifetime of our said lord and father."† To the said Roger Hurst was also granted, in consideration of the good service done and to be done, the ferry over the water of the Thames at Shillingford, with the profits thereof, to hold for his life, without anything to be rendered therefor. The above grant is unique for its prolixity. It is, like the following, in Norman French, under the privy seal, endorsed by the Great Council. Although the use of the French language, in pleadings and public deeds, was abolished by 36 Edward III., cap. 15, it seems to have been retained in documents of the above description.

The following translation of a grant by the king of the office of bailiff, being much more concise than the last, may be given in full.‡

"Confirmation: Bailif. The king to all to whom, etc., greeting;—We have inspected the letters patent of our most dear lord and father, Edward, late Prince of Aquitaine and Wales, lately made to Richard Baillyf, in these words: 'Edward, eldest son of the noble King of England, Prince of

* "Richard II.," p. 234. † Patent Roll, 1 Richard II., p. 5, m. 35.
‡ Patent Roll, 1 Richard II., Part 6, membrane 24.

Aquitaine and of Wales, Duke of Cornewaill, and Earl of Chester, to all who shall see or hear these letters, greeting;—Know ye that we, for the good service which our dear servant Richard Baillyf, our purveyor in England, to us has and will render, have granted and given, and to him do give and grant by these presents, the bailiwick of our Honor of Wallingford, of the four hundreds and a half within the county of Oxenford; with the bailiwick of the said Honor in the counties of Oxenford, Bucks., and Middlesex; to have and to hold to the said Richard during his life, with the profits and emoluments accustomed to the bailiwick abovesaid, in the same manner as Sir William de Stratton held it of our said gift. Wherefore we command to all to whom it pertains, that to the said Richard, or his deputies performing his office within his said bailiwick, they be intentive and responsive in manner as is meet. Given by the testimony of our seal at London, the 27th day of October, in the forty-second year of the reign of our most dear lord and father the king.' We moreover, approving of the grant and gift of our said lord and father aforesaid, of our especial grace, and because we have retained the aforesaid Richard in our service, by the tenor of these presents, do ratify, approve, and confirm it. In witness, etc. Witness, the king at Westminster, the 30th day of May.

"By bill indorsed by the Great Council."

A.D. 1378. In this year an inquisition *post-mortem* was taken, enumerating the knights' fees comprised in the Honor of Wallingford, of which the late Prince of Wales died seized. This statement is made on the authority of Mr. Lipscomb, who, in his "History of Bucks.," * gives the names of no less than forty-eight places in that county alone.

A reference to the inquisition *post-mortem*, No. 57 in the Public Record Office, does not, however, enable us to supply in detail the particulars referred to. A list of names in Bucks is given, and of all the lands Edward, Prince of Wales, held; but the Honor of Wallingford appears to be mentioned in connection only with manors and lands held by the Earl of Devon.

Riley, p. 582, gives the following translation of a letter in

* Vol. ii. p. 21.

French, on parchment, under the privy seal, which is lost. It relates to the payment of the town fee ferm :—"Richard, by the grace of God, King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland, to our well-beloved Mayor and Bailiffs of our vill of Walyngford, greeting;—We do will by the advice of our Council, and do command you, that the ferm which you are bound to render unto us, for our said vill yearly at our Exchequer, you do cause readily to be paid from year to year, from the Feast of Easter last past, until you have other especial command from us thereon, to our receiver of Walyngford for the time being, at the terms of Michaelmas and of Easter, by equal portions; to pay from the same to divers persons, our servants, and who have served our most dear lord and father the Prince, whom may God assoil, their annuities to them granted by our said father, and by us unto them confirmed; according to our commands, made and to be made under our great seal, or privy seal, unto the receiver aforesaid; and to answer to us for the remainder, as is reasonable, making indenture between you and the said receiver, witnessing the payments that you shall so make him; by which indenture, and by these, we do will that you be discharged therein as against us. Given under our privy seal, at Westminster, the 20th day of July, the year of our reign the sixth."

The following extracts are taken from a sheet of parchment, containing two views of frankpledge, in the seventh and eighth years of Richard II. The date of the first is Monday, the Feast of St. Peter *in cathedra* (18th January), in the seventh year of that reign, before John Motte, mayor:—Some twenty to thirty persons are fined various sums for brewing contrary to the assize, and selling ale by the cup. Elias Prestone is found to have raised the hue upon John Frogge, justly; therefore John Frogge is fined 4*d.* Joan Pipere has raised the hue upon Denisia atte Halle, justly; therefore Denisia is fined 4*d.* T. Lokyntone feigned himself to be a bailiff at the house of T. Smyht, upon which the latter raised the hue, justly; and the former is fined 4*d.* For committing upon the same Smyht the offence of homsoke (invasion of the sanctity of his house), unjustly, the same Lokyntone is amerced in the sum of 6*d.* For making affray at night, he is fined 6*d.*; for making assault upon J. Ware-

boys, 2*d.*; and for making assault on one of the bailiffs, 6*d.* John the baker, of Crawmerssh, is fined 18*d.* for breaking the assize of bread. One of the offences of Helias Prestone, a brewer, is that he refuses to put up a sign without his house; also he refuses to sell ale out of his house. Several butchers are fined 12*d.* each for selling meat excessively dear. Several fishmongers, one William Kyckere in the number, are fined like sums for selling fish too dear; some paying 6*d.* only. Several persons, among them Thomas Swayn, are fined 2*d.* each for laying dung in Courteslane. Henry Dene is fined 2*d.* for putting dung in the king's highway, near the pillory. Several persons are fined from 2*d.* to 6*d.* each for laying dung in Wodestrete. John Stone is fined 3*d.* for making purpresture (encroachment) in Canecroftte. The jurors say that Alene Bowyere is of light character (*mobilis*), and a receiver of thieves. Joan Roundel, Agnes Sawyere, Alice Moryn, and Anna Revenyng are presented as common scandal-mongers (*garilatrices*), day and night. Robert Deshounte is presented as a breaker of the peace, day and night; and is accused of having unjustly taken three pairs of shoes from T. Peuterere, of Crowmersch, value 12*d.*

The view of frankpledge mentioned on the reverse of the sheet bears date the Eve of the Nativity of St. Mary, in the eighth year of King Richard II., before John Motte, mayor.

Walter Herry is fined 6*d.* for selling mangled (*laceratas*) meat, and meat "not fit." Walter Herry also, with others, is fined 3*d.* for selling fish excessively dear, and 2*d.* for having a gutter a nuisance. Robert Oxsenford, William atte Dene, and 3 others are presented, and amerced in various sums from 2*d.* to 4*d.*, for selling shoes dear in excess. The jury present also that all the artificers (*artifices*) "namely, taylours and others," take in excess (charge too high prices); therefore they are amerced. Thomas Messenger is presented for selling eels corrupt (*coruptas*) and dead, and is amerced. The jurors find that Thomas Lokintone entered the garden of William Wodeward unjustly, and there made assault against the peace; therefore he is fined 3*d.* Sir Hugh, the Rector of St. Peter's, is found to have drawn blood from Joan Roundel, unjustly, and is fined 12*d.*; for committing homsokene, he is also fined 4*d.* John Santerer is amerced

6*d.* for drawing blood unjustly. The jurors present that Juliana, the maidservant of Lutel Watte, is a common pilferer of petty things, and that the said Watte is her receiver. That Aloissa Bowyere is a like pilferer of petty things. That Margery, the wife of John Charman, has found chattels to the value of 20*s.*, and has not delivered them to the bailiffs. William Taylour, Simon Taylour, David Taylour, and Thomas Taylour are presented as being tailors, and fined 2*d.* each for taking in excess. Two skinners also are fined 2*d.* each for taking in excess. Two tilers are fined 3*d.* each for the like offence of charging for their labour too dearly. Joan the wife of William Roundel, and Amya the wife of John Ravenyng, are presented as common scolds. Roger Armyzac and another are fined 12*d.* each for selling oats too dear. A number of other persons are presented, Joan of the Wardrobe in the number, and amerced, for offences the nature of which is not named.

The fearful visitation in the last reign, called the Black Death, had a disastrous effect on the prosperity of the town, and, according to Leland, was the cause of great desolation and declension. Camden, however, attributes the decay of the town to a diversion of the main traffic in a subsequent reign. But what must have materially affected the welfare of the inhabitants was the absence of those royal state visits, which had hitherto taken place, with so much splendour, at the Castle. To visit the town in its then declining and disturbed state could not have been congenial to the tastes of a monarch who had been brought up with almost every personal indulgence, and who, judging from his after life, was fond of show, magnificence, and pleasure. We must assume, therefore, that Richard, during the earlier years of his reign, was not a frequent visitor at the Castle. The fact that a great change had taken place in the well-being of the inhabitants is proved by their inability to pay the fee ferm. They presented a petition to the king, with the prayer of which he complied, to reduce the amount, and he brought down the annual impost from forty to seventeen pounds. Still, as Leland remarks,* on the authority of Mr. Pollard, there then existed in the town twelve parish churches; and the burghmote rolls in this reign do not show such a marked diminution of business as to lead

* Leland's "Itineraries," vol. iii. p. 97.

to the inference that the borough was almost depopulated, as has been represented by one or two authors.

A.D. 1381, 4 Richard II. I have referred in Part II. to the three Priors of Wallingford, who attained a position of considerable eminence as Abbots of St. Albans. Another native of Wallingford made himself conspicuous in the cloistered town, in a less peaceful sphere, and only escaped the penalty of death through the clemency of the Crown. Richard Wallingford—for such was the name he bore—in the early years of the reign of King Richard, stood high in the municipal institutions of the town; he was headborough, or constable, and in the insurrection of Wat Tyler allied himself to the rebels, and, as one of Tyler's lieutenants, was instrumental in obtaining from the king the charters, which were afterwards revoked and cancelled, as having been extorted from him by force. The authority for much of the following sketch, particularly that part of it respecting this celebrity, is a little book published in 1687, intituled "The Rustick Rampant, or Rural Anarchy affronting Monarchy, in the Insurrection of Wat Tyler," by Mr. John Cleveland.

The materials for the narrative appear to have been taken from the Harleian MSS., No. 3634, edited in 1874 for the Rolls Series, by E. M. Thompson.

In the fourth year of King Richard's reign, and the fifteenth of his age, "the dregs and offscum of the commons," says the author, "united into bodies in several parts of the kingdom, and formed a rebellion, called the Rebellion of the Clowns. It was strongly begun, and had not Providence held back the hand and stayed the blow, the Government would have been broken into shivers." The poll-tax fell short of the required supply. Commissioners were appointed to overlook the collection, and rigidly enforce the levy. This appears to have been the small beginning that led to so much havoc and bloodshed. The spirit of revolt, which commenced in Kent, soon extended into Suffolk, Norfolk, and Hertfordshire, under the leadership of Wat the Tyler, who associated with himself an itinerant preacher, John Ball, and two other priests; one of whom (his confessor) assumed the name of Jack Straw, and the other was called John Wall; Richard Wallingford was also one of the chief movers. It is said that an army of one hundred thousand men was raised, and that universal

consternation was the consequence. The House of Lords, the lawyers, justices, judges, jurymen, were to be swept from the earth; "lopping off the heads of those which were too tall, which overtopped too much," was the language employed, and meant equal nobility, equal liberty, dignity, and power. "Without this antidote the poisoned commonwealth must perish," at the hands of what is described to be "a medley or huddle of botchers, coblers, tinkers, draymen, apron-men, and plough-joggers."

The king's conduct, young as he was, was bold and energetic. He left Windsor to meet the danger, rowed down the river to the city, but was not permitted to land. Tower Hill was filled with rebels; the prison of Newgate, the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and many other houses were demolished. Amidst this tumult, a herald made proclamation that the king would meet them at Mile End. They moved off, and Richard, having reached the Tower, rode out of the gates with a few unarmed followers. Although the real object of the insurrection was the destruction of all distinctions of rank and the division of all property, the ostensible object, as put forth in the petition to the king, was a demand for the abolition of serfdom, the reduction of rent to fourpence an acre, liberty to buy and sell in all markets and fairs, and a general pardon for offences. The king yielded to the prayer of the petition, on condition of good behaviour, to which Richard Wallingford readily assented; but the charters that were drawn up, were not satisfactory to Tyler, who insisted that they should be dictated by himself only. Three drafts were presented to him for approval, and rejected, whereupon Sir William Newton was sent to entreat, rather than invite, the implacable leader to go to the king at Smithfield, and consider with his Majesty concerning any additional provisions he desired to have inserted. Tyler's aim, however, was insurrection and usurpation, and this concession only led to further unreasonable demands and stipulations, which, not having been acceded to, a proclamation was issued, that within four days all law should fall from Wat Tyler's mouth. Here Wallingford's allegiance to his chief began to wane, for he had accepted, and was desirous to return to St. Albans with, the charter which the king was willing to grant, and which contained a free pardon to him and his Hertfordshire associates

for all felonies, treasons, trespasses, and extortions. Ultimately, a charter of liberties and pardon was obtained through the perseverance of Wallingford, who does not appear to have joined his chief in the excesses that followed. Having rejected the king's proffered grant, Tyler remained in arms with a body of his insurgents, and led his men into the city. First, he and his comrades murdered the Archbishop of Canterbury and other dignified persons, and drove the king's mother out of her lodgings in the Tower. On the 17th day of June, the king rode into Smithfield. Tyler, when he saw the king coming, rode up "to meet the youth." During the parley, he put his hand upon his dagger, and touched the king's bridle, whereupon Walworth,* the lord mayor, immediately stabbed him. The insurgents, when they saw their leader fall, bent their bows, but Richard, with the heroism of his race, galloped up to the astonished band, and exclaimed, "Tyler was a traitor. I will be your leader." They followed. A considerable force hastened to Islington to protect their king, and many of the insurgents fell on their knees, and implored mercy.

Not so at St. Albans, where disaffection still reigned. The church was the chief mark at which the rebels aimed. Tyler's design was to remain in London, had he lived. He had promised to send, if need be, "twenty thousand of the saints, who should not fail to shave the beards of the abbot and the rest, which signified in plain English, cutting off their heads." The rebel strength, however, had greatly diminished, and every effort was made by threats and promises of reward, by acts of violence, and burning houses, to recruit the tattered regiment. By these means, a large force was raised from Barnet, Luton, Watford, and neighbouring towns. Thus strengthened, the leaguers entered St. Albans. Some of the crew approached the gates of the monastery, and commanded the porter to set them open. They freed the public malefactors out of the abbot's prison; one of the offenders, whom they supposed un-

* The citizens of London were led on by Sir Robert Knolles, who had been chosen by Prince Edward (the Black Prince), in the forty-first year of Edward III., to accompany him to Spain, and who three years afterwards was made general of all the forces which King Edward sent into France. Some of his descendants in after times held the keepership of Wallingford Castle, and represented the borough in Parliament (T. Walsingham, p. 265, n. 30; Dugdale, "The Baronage of England").

worthy of liberty or life, they beheaded on the ground, before the gates. But the abbey was the main mark of the conspirators, and with sacrilegious affection towards the church, and the cry, "Now or never for the liberty of the subject, and the power of godliness!" they prepared to strike the fatal blow. At this critical conjuncture, Richard Wallingford, still the headborough, who had tarried in London for the king's charter, or letter of manumission and pardon, entered the town, bearing the king's banner, and pennon of the arms of St. George, having the red cross before him, according to the custom of the clowns of London. The murderous mission of the rebels was arrested when they heard of his arrival, and a multitude went forth to meet him. Wallingford, on alighting, struck the pennon into the earth, and bade them keep close, and encircle it like a standard. He entreated them to continue about it, till his return with the lieutenants, who were resolved with all speed to treat with the abbot, and bring them an answer to certain propositions they had made. Wallingford and his followers at once went to the monastery, and sent for the abbot to appear before them, and answer the commons. The abbot was at first resolute to die for the liberty of his church, but his pious gallantry gave way to the prayers of his monks, who told him, as things stood, his death could advantage nothing; that these knaves and hell-hounds were determined to murder the monks, and burn the monastery, if they had the repulse; and that there was no way of safety but to fall down before the Baals. The abbot yielded, and went to the church. After a short salutation, Wallingford reached out to him the king's letter, or writ, which was in these words, rendered out of the barbarous French of that age: —"Beloved in God. At the petition of our loved lieges of the town of St. Albans, we will and command you that certain charters, being in your custody, made by our progenitor, King Henry, to the burgesses and good people of the said town, of 'commune,' of pasture, and fishing, and of certain other commodities expressed in the said charters, in what they say, you do as law and reason require, so that they may not have any matter to complain to us for that cause. Given under our signet at London, the 15th day of June, in the fourth year of our reign."

The abbot received the letter with due reverence, read it,

and then, thinking to work upon the consciences of the leaguers, delivered a long and eloquent discourse on law, reason, equity, and justice. Wallingford, with his hand on his sword, ridiculed the arguments of the abbot, as reflecting upon the manners of men, "whose treasons prosper, and who did not advance themselves by virtue, by learning, by justice, or valour, but by murder and robbery." "My lord," said he, "every story is not true because it is eloquently told. You endeavour to inveigle and deceive us in a long discourse of equity, of law, and justice. We come not hither for words, but things. We pretend not to refute your reasons, which are but unjust defences of your oppression, cunning subtleties, colours to paint over the wrongs you do us. You have always kept us deprived, not only of all means of learning and knowledge, but would willingly have taken away our very reason and common understanding, that we might groan under our miseries with the feeling of beasts, and be masters neither of sense nor language for a complaint. It is time now that we of the commonalty should take our turn of command. We have the present and the supreme power. We are armed, and we will not think of the laws nor regard them; they only submit to laws who want power to help themselves." And after proceeding in the same strain, he concluded by counselling the abbot, for the sake of his life, not to exasperate the "godly party, who would not lay down their arms till they be masters of their desires."

The abbot endeavoured to answer this harangue, reciting his good deeds towards them for thirty-two years; but this was again stopped, and he was told that the thousands before the doors of his monastery had sent for him, not to parley, but to consent, and that if he wished to save the monastery and the monks' heads, he must at once deliver up the charters; whereupon certain obligations and charters were given up, and burnt in the market-place, near the cross. Still discontented, the rebels called for the delivery of a certain other charter, the capital letters of which were of gold and of azure, which the abbot protested he knew nothing of, but he agreed to disclaim, under his hand and seal, all things prejudicial to their liberty. The disclaimer, having been prepared and read to the excited multitude, was scornfully rejected, and a threat to bury the convent in the ruins

of the cloisters, unless the charter they demanded was produced, was followed by further concessions, and an attempt at mediation. The poor abbot struggled in vain to soften the violence of the mob. The ale of the convent, brought out to them in huge vats, was powerless to allay their fury, though, possibly, it stayed the uplifted hand. Such was the degrading scene, and the desperate position in which the monks were placed, when an honest burgess of the town interposed, and aided probably by Richard Wallingford, succeeded in drawing off the rabble from the gates of the monastery, alleging that it was fit for the burgesses and freemen of the town to take the lead. Organization was out of the question, and the rest of the day was spent in riot, in plunder, and in destruction of property. The unhappy monks were at their wits' ends to preserve their church and save their lives.

What a night of perplexity and misery they must have endured! But day and comfort broke out together upon them. Suddenly the arrogancy and fury of the rebels abated. Unpleasant rumours concerning the army were spread, and the death of the idol tyrant, Wat Tyler, was divulged. Citizens of London began now to own their prince, and to side with him against all seditious opponents of his Majesty. A proclamation was issued, commanding "this herd" to keep the king's peace under forfeiture of life and members from that hour. The king, now a protector again of his subjects, sent his letters protectory to the abbot; but still, though the rebel zeal was slackened, it was not extinguished, and the lieutenants and others pressed their demands on the abbot, who, having been advised by letters from Sir Hugh Segrave, the lord steward of the household, and Sir Thomas Percy, to grant all things, on the ground that such grants, being thus forced from him, would be void at law, and could not hurt his monastery, at once conceded, and sealed the charter of liberties, which the rebels themselves had dictated. The insurgents departed with it to the market-place, and there at the cross proclaimed both the king's charter and that which had been exacted from the abbot. These concessions did not secure the peace of the town; they seemed to fan into a flame the latent spirit of revolt, which showed itself in the fresh troubles that ensued. Emboldened by the success they had attained, and proclaiming themselves "noble beyond the

line and race of kings," the rebels refused to perform their customs and services, or to pay rent. With the cry on their lips, "This is a friar, therefore a liar!" they especially defied the power of the monks, and again conspired the destruction of the monastery. They strengthened their ranks by levies from the neighbourhood, and great outrages and excesses were committed; many who fell into the power of the rebels lost their lives, which led to protective measures on the part of the State. A royal proclamation against unlawful assemblies induced some of the traitors from Essex and other parts to inquire of the king whether he intended to make good his grants of liberties to the people of St. Albans; one of their requirements being to be made equal with their lords. Startled at this impudence, the king sent a body of horse to quell the rebels, when five hundred of them were killed, and eight hundred horses taken; the remainder effected their escape.

The time had now arrived for decisive action, and many of the leaders of the conspiracy were taken, tried, and condemned to death. John Straw, Kirkley, Treder, and Sterling were beheaded, Straw's head being set on London Bridge with Tyler's; and upon the finding of the jury, nineteen others were "trussed on the gallows." Plotting, notwithstanding these repressive measures, continued, and a second special commission was issued for trial of the insurgents. On the day preceding the commission, the king made his entry into the town, being met by the abbot and convent. The bells rang, and the monks sang merrily his welcome. He was followed by some thousands of bowmen and cavaliers. In the train was Sir Richard Tresilian, the chief justice, who on the next day sat in judgment at the Town Hall. The king, with the advice of his Council, revoked the letters patent or charters which he had granted to the "clowns" at the instance of Wallingford, because they were unduly procured, and granted without "mature deliberation." At the commission several other of the conspirators who had been captured at Hertford and other places, were tried, and sentenced to be embowelled and quartered. Foremost among the number was the "popular preacher" (the Tom Payne of the day), John Ball, whose body was quartered and sent to four cities of the realm; then the lieutenants, William Greyndcob, William Cadinton,

John Barber, and twelve others of the town and country were condemned to be drawn and hanged. Richard Wallingford, though one of Tyler's lieutenants, and the most active rebel of the chief men of the town, seems marvellously to have escaped capital punishment. He was indicted, with John Garlick, William Berewell, Thomas Porter, and eighty from the country, found guilty, and committed, with his companions, to prison; but afterwards he received the king's pardon, and was liberated—a leniency which was probably due to the opposing attitude Wallingford had taken towards Tyler when the latter refused to accept the charter the king had offered. Not only did the king revoke the charters of enfranchisement and pardon, but he granted letters, restoring all things to their old course, and all the accustomed services to the abbot were to be performed as of ancient time.

A.D. 1385, 8 Richard II. The king, on his return from Scotland, after having reduced Edinburgh, Perth, and Dundee to ashes, conferred on his favourites, Robert de Vere,* Earl of Oxford, the title of Marquis of Dublin; and on Richard de la Pole, the chancellor, the title of Earl of Suffolk. As Earl, and afterwards Duke, of Suffolk, this family held in after times the custody of Wallingford Castle, and had intimate connections with the town. The De la Poles were a family which, within a century, had rapidly risen from comparative obscurity to the highest dignities. "The first raiser," says Speed,† "of the De la Poles was Edward III., who made William de la Pole, of a brave merchant, a knight bannerct, and gave him great possessions, in requital of an extraordinary and voluntary loan of treasure, advanced by him to supply the king in a time of special necessity, when money could stand him in more stead than a thousand men of arms." Michael de la Pole, his son, who had risen by his abilities and valour during the wars of Edward III., and enjoyed the friendship of that monarch, was esteemed the person of greatest experience and capacity among those who were attached to the king's party in the disturbed reign of Richard II., and he was by him made a Knight of the Garter, and advanced to the dignity and office of Earl of Suffolk, and lord chancellor.

* Robert de Vere was nephew of Aubrey de Vere, the next Earl of Oxford; sometimes called Albert.

† Page 726 b.

The above-named Michael de la Pole was raised to "the military order of honour" on the 16th of July, 1377, at the coronation of Richard II., and on that occasion received the customary "royal gifts."

The close connection of this family with the neighbouring manor and village of Ewelme, as founders of the almshouse there, and as frequent residents at the manor-house, is referred to hereafter, *temp.* Henry IV.

In this year (1385), the sad event occurred which is supposed to have accelerated the death, at Wallingford, of Joan of Kent. Lord Stafford, son of the earl, who was high in favour with Anne of Bohemia, queen of Richard II., and a "peerless chevalier, adored by the English army," met with his death at the hands of Sir John Holland, half-brother of the king. According to some authorities, the death was occasioned accidentally; according to others, the crime of murder was imputed to him, the secret motives of the deed being alleged jealousy of the queen's favour and malice against her adherents. Whatever the cause, the king was so incensed against his brother, that, notwithstanding the entreaties of Joanna, the mutual mother of the king and Sir John, the latter was condemned to die, pursuant to a vow which the king had made. After four days' incessant lamentation, says Miss Strickland, on the authority of Froissart and others, the king's mother died * on the fifth day at the Royal Castle of Wallingford. Richard's resolution failed him at this catastrophe, and, when too late to save his mother, he pardoned the criminal. According to Daniel's "History of England," the queen was buried at Wallingford. On her death, the Castle and Honor of Wallingford reverted to the Crown.

A.D. 1390. The following relates to the imprisonment of one of the Sheriffs of London in Wallingford Castle. The king appointed a great tournament to be held in London, and sent heralds to proclaim his intention to all the principal courts of Europe, from whence many princes and others attended. Various entertainments accompanied the tilting, and open house was kept up at the king's expense during the whole four days the festivities lasted, and every night the diversions were concluded by a ball. Soon after this, the

* Lysons, "Magna Britannia," vol. i. p. 395.

king sent to the Londoners, requesting to borrow of them one thousand pounds, which they refused, and moreover nearly slew a Lombard who would have lent the money. The king was greatly angered, and called together almost all the nobles of the land, complaining of the maliciousness and presumption of the Londoners. They gave counsel that the "insolence of the citizens should with speed be repressed, and their pride abated;" whereupon John Hinde, the mayor, the sheriffs, and the "best citizens" were arrested, taken to the king at Nottingham, and by his judgment these officers were deposed. The former was sent to Windsor Castle, and the sheriffs were imprisoned, the one in the Castle of Wallingford, and the other in that of Odiham; the other citizens were sent to other prisons. The ruler of the city was to be a knight appointed by the king, in the place of the mayor; city privileges were revoked, and laws abrogated. Ultimately, the king abated the rigour of his judgment, and granted a pardon and the restitution of privileges, on receiving ten thousand pounds, which the Londoners, not being ignorant that "the end of these things was a money matter," willingly paid. Wallingford and the other castles released their prisoners, and, "the troubles of the cityzens came to quietnesse." *

A.D. 1396. In this year, Sir John Golafre, who had been employed in an embassy to France, in 1389, died at Wallingford, and was buried at Westminster Abbey.† It is stated in Lysons' "Berks," pp. 282, 455, that he was an illegitimate son of a grandson of Sir John Golafre, who acquired the manor of Fyfield, Berks, by his marriage with Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of John Fyflede, of Fyfield. The daughter of one of the family appears to have married John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, who lost his life at the battle of Stoke.

Another family of some note, who were resident in Wallingford, was that of the Jameses, who are first mentioned in this reign. Robert James, of Wallingford, Esquire, was lord of the manor of Ambrosden; and a conveyance, by way of settlement, of certain manors by him and Catherine his wife, who was daughter and co-heiress of Sir Edmund de la Pole, to uses for their benefit, is set out in Kennett.‡

* Abridged from Allen's "History of London," and Stow, citing Walsingham.

† Leland, "Itinerary," vol. iv. p. 345. ‡ Vol. ii. p. 178.

A less innocent act is recorded by the same author, in the next page of his book, where it appears the esquire brought an action of trespass against the unfortunate Vicar of Ambrosden, in the Court of the Marshalsea of the king's household at Oxford, for leaving the common path on walking over to officiate at a neighbouring chapel. Christina, his daughter and heiress, married Edmund Rede, Esquire, of Borstall; and on the latter's death in October, 1430 (9 Henry VI.), an inquisition was taken at Goring, near Wallingford, whereby it appears he held, with his wife, various lands within the Honor of Wallingford, many of which are particularized in earlier inquisitions,* and whereby it was found that "John James, of Walyngford, held of the king as of the Honor of Walyngford, conjointly with Christina his wife and Robert his son surviving, the manor of Adewell, with the advowson of the church, land at Kyngeston Blount, Nettlebed, Bix, and a water-mill at Bensyngton, by military service, but the jury know not by what part of a knight's fee. Value, 20 marks.

"He died October 31, leaving Robert his son, aged thirty and more, his heir."

"Crowemersh Gifford, Wednesday before Martinmas, 20 Richard II."

By another inquisition, "taken at Walyngford, same day, it appears he also held the manor of Russhe (now Rush Court), a messuage, land, and rent, a fishery in the Thames called Bloundeles-water, in Cloppecote, Berks, of the king, as of the Honor of Walyngford, by knight service, amount not known; yearly value, £10. Also 40 messuages, 30 tofts, etc., in Walyngford of the king, in socage as in free burgage, of the borough of Walyngford."

A.D. 1397. John Beaufort, Marquis of Somerset and Dorset, was made Constable of Wallingford Castle, and Steward of the Honors of that and St. Walerie.†

Towards the close of King Richard's reign, "the Earl of Wiltshire, and the king's three confidential servants, Sir John Bushey, . . . Bagot, and Sir Henry Green, were made ‡ Keepers of Wallingford Castle, which it appears had been one of the

* Inq., p. m., 20 Richard II., No. 32.

† Dugdale, "The Baronage of England," tom. ii. p. 122.

‡ Pat., 23 Richard II.; Lysons, "Berks."

queen's palaces." These three confidential servants were members of the House of Commons, and were willing to lead the Lower House in coming to any resolutions the king might wish. As an instance of the conduct of these unprincipled favourites, may be mentioned the false accusation against the Earl of Arundel. The earl was treacherously arrested by their aid, after rising from a dinner to which the king had invited him, as one whom the latter delighted to honour. To justify the arrest, a charge of treason, alleged to have been committed some years before, was made against him. Without going into the merits of the case, the earl pleaded the Act of Indemnity, which had passed with the king's consent, and which fully exempted him from any prosecution. This, however, he was told, had been repealed at the request of Sir John Bushey, in the name of the Commons. The earl's execution followed, which the king witnessed. Not long after, the whole kingdom was in a state of fermentation, and Bristol was besieged, where the three above-named favourites, with the Earl of Wiltshire,* had shut themselves up. The town soon surrendered, and "the soldiers were permitted to hang up two of these mischievous flatterers, without any form of trial," and the earl was led to execution.

A.D. 1399. We now come to the family of the renowned Chaucer, the poet, whose son, Thomas Chaucer, was Constable of Wallingford Castle, and held several important public offices.

The following abstract from the roll is introduced, as explanatory of the royal grant on the same day, and the grants made to Chaucer in the next reign.†

On the 20th day of March, 1399, King Richard II. "confirmed the letters patent dated January 22, 1394, of his uncle John, late Duke of Lancaster, which granted to Thomas Chaucer, Esquire, 10 pounds a year for life, for the good and agreeable service that he has rendered and will render to him. The king also confirmed one part of a certain indenture between John, late Duke of Lancaster, and the aforesaid Thomas, who was retained in the duke's service, in the time of peace and war. The said Thomas, in time of peace, has wages and bouche de court (meat and drink scot-free), in the same manner as other esquires of the family, of his

* Hume; Walter. † Patent Roll, p. 2, mm. 5, 7; Napier, 26.

condition; and for his fee, during peace and war, 10 pounds a year during life, to be paid in equal portions at Easter and Michaelmas. The said Thomas, in time of war, will take such wages of war, or bouche de court, as other esquires of his condition. And with respect to prisoners, and other profits of war, taken or gained by Thomas, or any of his people, from the commencement of his year of war, as well as the equipment of himself, his people, horses and harness, the same duke will do to him as to other esquires. In testimony of which the parties have put their seals. Given at Bayonne, the 26th day of March, in the year 1389. Tested by the king at Westminster, and 5 marks paid into the Hanaper for the confirmation."

On the same day, the 20th of March, Thomas Chaucer, Esquire, had a grant of 20 marks yearly, for the term of his life, out of the farm of the king's vill at Wallingford, by the hands of the receiver of farms, or other bailiffs or occupiers of the vill aforesaid, for the time being, in "recompense for certain offices which he lately held for the term of his life, by the grant of the king's most beloved uncle John, late Duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster, and which have now been granted by the king to his beloved and faithful William le Scrop, Earl of Wilts."

A.D. 1399. On the death of Roger Mortimer, Viceroy of Ireland, the king resolved to make an expedition to the sister country, "to complete the work of conquest and organization that had been inaugurated, and to quell the rebellion that ensued on the death of the viceroy." * On his road, he tarried some hours at Windsor Castle, to bid farewell to his affianced Queen, Isabella of Valois, the daughter of Charles V. of France, then only eleven years of age, but "who had grown tall, and very lovely, and whose young heart, so say the chronicles, he entirely won at this interview." The Lady de Courcy was her governess and principal lady of honour, but owing to her alleged extravagance, the king dismissed her from her office, and having made this reform in the queen's establishment, he left for Bristol, and embarked on his ill-timed expedition to Ireland. After the departure, the queen was ill of grief a fortnight or more, and when she recovered, she was removed from the castle of Windsor to the still

* Green, p. 356.

stronger fortress of Wallingford, "where she remained while England was lost by her royal lord, and won by his rival, Henry of Bolingbroke." * The hasty removal from Windsor to Wallingford was made on the landing of the usurper, by the advice of the Duke of York, the regent, and other lords. The king quickly returned from Ireland, and after taking shelter among the Welsh castles, still loyal to him, he yielded himself a prisoner. Directly the news arrived that Richard had surrendered himself, the garrisons of the Royal Castles of Windsor and Wallingford yielded to Bolingbroke. Whither the young queen went after the surrender of the garrison is not quite clear. According to some authorities, Leeds Castle, in Kent, was the place of her destination, where the Lady de Courcy, notwithstanding her dismissal, appears to have again attached herself to the household, but it would seem by the document referred to on p. 34, that the queen was removed from Wallingford Castle, after the king's landing in England, towards Sunnyng, where we find her afterwards. Probably she was hurried from place to place. Shakespeare depicts a touching scene of the meeting and parting of the king and Isabella on the road to the Tower, but this is doubtless mere romance. What appears to be equally romantic, in connection with Wallingford, is the determined part the girl-queen took for the restoration of her husband, who had been taken a close prisoner from the Tower to Pontefract Castle. The confederate lords flew to arms, and dressing up the chaplain, Maudelain, in royal robes, proclaimed that the deposed king had escaped from his gaolers; and Isabella, apparently then at Sunning Hill, in this county, was told that he was in full march to meet her, at the head of one hundred thousand men. Overjoyed at the news, she ordered the badges of Henry IV. to be torn from her household, and replaced by those of her royal husband. A proclamation was likewise issued in her name, declaring that she did not recognize Henry as king. Among the chief conspirators were the Earls of Kent, Salisbury, and Huntingdon, who seized the castle of Windsor, and proclaimed Richard once more King of England; and then, says the chronicler, the Earl of Kent deceived the ex-queen with false hopes. "So gladed he the queen with lyes, and rod forth to Walynforth, and fro Walynforth to Abyngdon, warnyng alle

* Strickland, vol. iii. p. 16.

men be the weye, that thei shuld make hem redy to help Kyng Richard." *

The enthusiastic queen, accompanied by her brother-in-law, the Earl of Kent, and his allies, proceeded on their march to Wallingford and Abingdon, full of joyful hope, expecting every hour to meet her king triumphant at the head of a loyal army; but suddenly, as she approached Cirencester, she was captured by Henry IV., and the fact was disclosed to her that the Richard whom she hoped to meet was but a counterfeit in royal robes, to deceive the common people.† The doom of Richard was sealed. Within a very short time, either starvation or the halberts of his keepers put an end to his unhappy life. Misery and close restraint, though in state and dignity, attended the maiden widow, then in her thirteenth year, till her restoration to France some months afterwards. In the interval, the Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V., was a suitor for her hand, and wooed the widow of his cousin, we are told, with extreme pertinacity; but she mourned her murdered husband, and was inflexible in her rejection of the prince. See *post*, 2 Henry IV.

* Capgrave's "Chronicles of England," p. 275.

† Strickland, p. 27; and others.

CHAPTER II.

HENRY IV. TO EDWARD IV.—1399 TO 1461.

A.D. 1399, 1 Henry IV.

THOMAS CHAUCER was a favourite of the late king, and held high office in his household; he was equally fortunate in this reign, was made Constable of Wallingford Castle, and was the recipient of several royal grants, which have an interesting bearing on the events of the past.

The following extracts refer to Wallingford:—"On the 26th day of October, 1399, King Henry the Fourth granted * to Thomas Chaucer, Esquire, the offices of Constable of Wallingford Castle, and Seneschal (steward) of the Honors of Walliingford and St. Vallery, and of the Chiltern Hundreds, for life. He was to receive therefrom 40 pounds a year, with 10 pounds additional for his deputy." He was also to receive 20 marks per annum from the fee farm of the vill of Wallingford, in exchange for the constableship of the castle of Knaresborough. "On the 14th day of November, 1399, the king granted † to his beloved esquire, Thomas Chaucer, all the malt and corn in the Castle of Wallingford." Three days after, "the king granted ‡ to him all the malt that was in the Castle of Wallingford on the 15th day of September last past, and all the corn that was in the same Castle, on the 18th day of October last past, to have of his gift, to do as he pleases with it."

A.D. 1400. The closing part of the last chapter more properly belongs to this date, for Henry had reigned three months when a succession of secret conspiracies against his person

* Nicolas, "Life of Geoffrey Chaucer," p. 109.

† Patent Roll, 1 Henry IV., 1 p. 3, m. 35. ‡ Ibid., p. 3, m. 31.

and throne commenced, which preceded the romantic incident before narrated.

A letter,* in French, dated 20th May, 1402, from Wallingford, where the king was residing in his Castle, opens up the following little episode. During the queen's captivity at Havering, and after all prospect of a marriage with Henry of Monmouth had been abandoned, the Council of Henry IV. deliberated on the destination of the young Isabella, and decided that she had no right, owing to her tender age, to claim revenue as Queen Dowager of England, but that she ought to be restored to her friends, with all the jewels and paraphernalia that she brought with her. The parsimonious king, who had seized the jewels, and divided them among his six children, the Prince of Wales having the greatest share, was not likely to be backward in adopting any necessary formality to protect his revenues from a claim of dower. The queen, accompanied by two ladies of the royal family, her maids of honour, and others in authority, had been escorted to France in great state, despoiled of her dower and her jewels; but a legal acquittance was considered necessary, to indemnify the king, and hence we find the letter referred to, dated from Wallingford, informing the Council that he had written to his ambassadors in France, to the effect that, if it were necessary that any one should be present at the sealing of the acquittance from Queen Isabel, before the King of France, he had appointed Lord Say to attend for that purpose; and commanding the Council to provide for his expenses.

Another letter† from the king, dated from Wallingford, informs the Council that, in consequence of his carriage (baggage?) not having met him, his arrival at Westminster would be delayed.

On the 5th day of November, 1402, Thomas Chaucer‡ (who had held the office in the preceding reign) was appointed chief butler to the king for life, with a salary of twenty marks annually, and in the next year he had a grant of the marriage of Thomas Stoner, brother and heir of Gilbert, who held *in capite* of the late king, Richard II., on the day that

* Nicolas, "Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council," vol. i.

† Ibid., under date June 21, 1401.

‡ Nicolas, "Life of Geoffrey Chaucer," p. 108; Patent Roll, p. 1 m. 13.

he died, being under age, and the said king's ward. Chaucer had also the marriage of the heir of Thomas, if he died under age, and if that heir should die under age, of his successor, and so on.*

On the 20th of February, 1404, the king pardoned and released to Thomas Chaucer, Sheriff of Oxford and Berks, and Constable of the Castle of Wallingford, all the provisions that were lately in the divers offices of the household of the Lady Isabella, late Queen of England, within the Castle aforesaid, after her removal from the Castle aforesaid towards Sunnyng, after his landing in England in the twenty-third year of the reign of the Lord Richard II., late King of England, and valued at 78 pounds 9 shillings and 9 pence. The king also pardoned and released to the aforesaid Thomas all the provisions received by him within the town of Carmarthen, after the king's last departure from it, as well as the price of those provisions. And all the debts, accounts, arrears of accounts, demands, and exactions whatsoever, excepting those touching his office of chief butler. And finally, all the money that was due to the king for the escape of felons from the gaol of Wallingford and from the gaol of Oxford.†

Various other royal grants to this favourite are mentioned in the "Life of Geoffrey Chaucer," which do not fall within the scope of this history. He represented Oxfordshire in Parliament in the years 1402, 1408, 1409, and 1412; was chosen Speaker of the Commons in 1414, and held several diplomatic appointments.

In June, 1400, the above-mentioned annuities being in arrear, the king directed the receiver of the honour of Leicester to pay, "nostre bien aime escuier Thomas Chaucer," the sum of 10 pounds then due to him. ‡

A.D. 1407. An account was delivered to the Prior and Canons of Burcester by Henry Deye, and Joan his wife, of all the gain and profit of their dairy, arising from their close, called Le Brech, in the manor of Wrechwyke, part of the Honor of Wallingford, with a deduction of their own expenses for two following years, wherein are mentioned some very remarkable words and customs, which are set out in Kennett, vol. ii. p. 211.

* Patent Roll, 5 Henry IV., p. 1, m. 13. † Patent Roll, p. 1, m. 1.
‡ Register of Duchy of Lancaster, CC, No. 15, fol. 61.

A.D. 1409. As stated before, the choice of fit persons to serve in Parliament was made out of the inhabitants of the town, most frequently out of the corporate body.

The following is the election return for Wallingford in this year:—"Having seen the king's writ, we, John Derby, Mayor of the burgh of Wallingford, and all the fellow-burgesses of the same burgh, have by true scrutiny chosen and appointed John Cotterell and William Cotterell, our skilful burgesses and honest procurators in the Parliament of the lord the king at Westminster, conferring upon them our full power to do there all and singular legal things; and in witness of the appointment and ordination aforesaid, we, the aforesaid mayor and fellow-burgesses of the aforesaid burgh, according to the exigency or command of the said writ, have put to our seals to this indenture, as it doth appear, here underwritten name by name: John Derby, Will Arnegat, Thomas Swallwayke, Roger Baker, Will. Morgan, John Culham, Will. Essex, John Payable, Robert Colsil, Geoffrey Littell, John Breewood, Robert Dessont, John Hert." *

Riley has given us but few translations subsequent to the last reign, which may be explained by the reply he is represented to have made to Dr. Doran, who applied to him for some information about a point of English seventeenth-century history. "Really, Doran, I can't trouble myself about those matters of yesterday. To me all the interest of English history disappears with the Wars of the Roses." † The copious extracts, however, with which he has furnished us, although confined to a few reigns, are amply sufficient, not only to show the everyday life of the town five or six centuries ago, its topography, its government, and its tenures, but to remove the doubts that have existed on several disputed points. Take, for instance, the number of churches and parishes upon which the opinions of different authors have widely differed, some stating the number to have been four, while others have gone up to twelve. The question is now set at rest by these and some few other ancient records, which clearly establish the fact that the town contained fourteen churches, and no less than twelve parishes; that it was one of considerable size and importance—was divided into four wards at least, and that in it trades of various kinds, all represented

* Brady on "Burghs," p. 144. † *Temple Bar*, April, 1878.

by companies, were extensively carried on, under peculiar customs and privileges, the central mart for the ordinary commodities being probably in the open warehouses or selds under the Guildhall. In Edward the First's reign frequent reference is made to the linen-market and the fish-market, as well as the corn-market. Traders, however, seem, from the number of cases, to have been subjected to strict supervision and penal restriction. The sale of beer "by cup," of fish "too dear," of clothes, shoes, and other articles in excess of certain rates, was followed by presentment and fine at the Burghmote.

Breaking the assize, particularly of bread, was the subject of frequent amercement. "Taylours, skinners, tilers," and others classed as "artificers," were presented and fined for different illegal acts—"taking in excess" being the most common; others for selling eels "corrupt and dead;" and common scandal-mongers and scolds came in for their fair share of punishment.

Two coroners sat together to hold inquisitions, which extended not only to an inquiry into the cause of death, but to an investigation into criminal charges, and an adjudication of punishment, the gaol in the Castle being used as the town prison.

It appears also to have been within their province to take confessions of guilt in church from those who had taken sanctuary, and were about to abjure the realm for theft.

The higher courts that were periodically held were called Burghmote, Great Court or Portmote, Piepowder and View of Frankpledge, besides the Court of the Aldermen of the Guild, who granted the freedom of the borough on receiving small annual sums, charged on certain tenements, as the purchase money for the privilege, thereby showing the creation of quit-rents. A common rent in Henry the Third's reign was the rendering of one clove at Easter, which must have been by way only of acknowledgment of the title of the recipient.

The curious names, both Christian and surname, disclosed by these documents, have been already noticed. The surnames referred to occur in documents dated as far back as the thirteenth century, and looking at them etymologically, many would seem to indicate the possession of some good or bad quality, such as diligence, punctuality, loyalty, pride,

pettishness, cruelty; others imply some infirmity, crippled condition, or strength of body; while most of them are evidently derived from particular trades or occupations, or the place of habitation. In some of the early documents the days of the week occur as surnames, Sundi, Jeofdy (Thursday) and Friday. Munday is also mentioned more recently; and the singular variety of female names appears to be quite unique and deserving of reintroduction.

It is worthy of remark that persons are mentioned in these records whose names assimilate with those of some of the old inhabitants of Wallingford at the present time, and to some of whom possibly an ancestry belongs, dating back to the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and in some cases earlier. Among them we may note Dyer, Culham (Culnham), Barrett (Baret), Hervy now Harvey, Whittinge now Whiting, Huberd now Hubbard, Prestone, Swayn, Hamertone, Hamilton, Wych, Winch, Wellare, Weller, Pudell, Pedall, Wheeler, Messenger, Allen, Webbe, Dearlove, and Girl now Gill, Bissopp, Bishop. More noble or distinguished names appear, which we may connect with the families of rank who were attracted here by the court, so long resident in the Castle.

The number and variety of seals appended to charters, royal precepts, and deeds, call for remark. They have various devices, with legends, impressed in red, white, and green wax, and are for the most part, where remaining, in a fair state of preservation. They are nearly all pendant, a few are attached by two strings of coloured silk; and in some instances the seals are encased in linen bags. There is an oblong seal of the Bishop of Hereford, with a fine impression on the obverse, and legend, commencing "Magister . . ." Another fine seal is that of the Priory of Wallingford, which is attached to a deed of the fifteenth century. Crosses, sprigs of flowers, and armorial bearings frequently occur; among the latter is the lion rampant of Richard, Earl of Cornwall. A representation of this crest, in stone, may still be seen attached to the east end of the gable in Mr. Neighbour's house, in High Street.

The affixing of crosses to public instruments was the manner of signature prior to the time of Edward the Confessor. That monarch, who was bred up in Normandy, where seals were generally used, brought over, according to some autho-

rities, that custom with him into this nation; but others hold the sealing of deeds and charters to be much more ancient, and a charter of King Edwin, brother of King Edgar, dated 956, is mentioned as having been sealed, not only with his own seal, but also with that of the Bishop of Winchester. Seals in wax seem to have been commonly used in the time of William the Conqueror, whose charter to Battle Abbey has a large pendant seal attached; and since that period, the sealing has been essential to give legal effect to the instrument. Hence it is that so many of the public and important documents in the corporation chest either have seals attached or the trace of their existence.

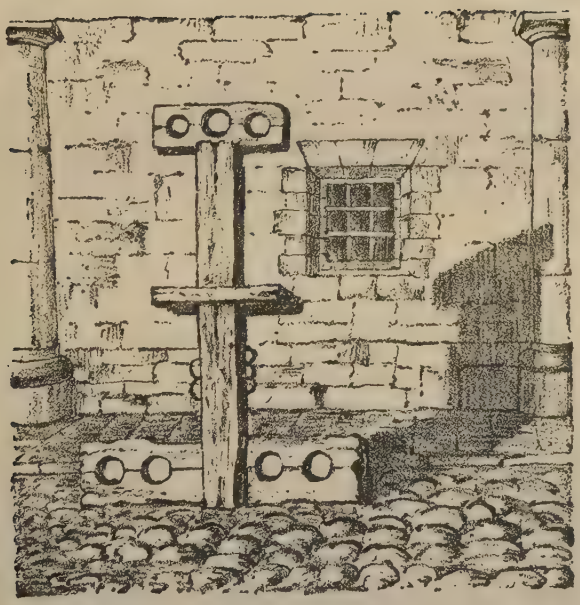
It will be observed that in all the earlier grants and deeds, in addition to the seal, a large number of witnesses attested and gave solemnity to the act.

There is also an interesting illustration of the tally system of keeping accounts in the reign of Edward the First. Annexed to a parchment roll of quit-rents is a wooden tally, neatly notched, almost from end to end. These notches denote the payment of the rent.*

The item for repairing the pillory and trebuchet in the 15th of Henry III. carries us back to the year 1231, and in the twenty-eighth of the same reign, the sum of sixpence is charged for repairing the tumbrel, which is not synonymous with the trebuchet, or ducking-stool. The tumbrel, or tombereau, was a two-wheeled cart, so constructed as to be let down, in which the law-breaker was carted through the town, exposed to the scorn and ridicule of the people. It seems to have been especially used for the sake of exposure, in the case of adulterers and fornicators. Among those of this class who were carted through the town in a later century, was probably the notorious Dr. London, the last Dean of St. Nicholas' College, in the Castle. The authorities quoted in Part II. in reference to this celebrity, mention Oxford and Wokingham (Oakingham) as the scene of his degradation, but it is more than likely that he had in his own town of Wallingford painful personal experience of this instrument of punishment.

An erection of a later date for confining the necks, hands,

* Tallies were double, the same marks being made on both parts and then broken, so that each party kept one piece (Madox, "History of the Exchequer").



THE PILLORY, WHIPPING-POST AND STOCKS, WALLINGFORD.

and legs of prisoners, combining the pillory, whipping-post, and stocks, existed in Wallingford until about the year 1830, when the pillory was removed, and the stocks were left *in situ*, to warn the drunkard of his fate, if he transgressed the law. They appear, however, to have gradually fallen into disuse, and when taken down some few years ago, were kindly presented to me by the corporation, with what remained of the pillory and whipping-post. It will be seen by the sketch on the previous page that this terror to evil-doers, which occupied a conspicuous position in the Market-place, on the west of the Town Hall, was designed to hold four delinquents, namely, two in the stocks, one at the whipping-post, and one in pillory at the top. There is a reference to the above erection, with a drawing, in the *Reliquary*, a quarterly journal, illustrative of the habits, customs, and pursuits of our forefathers, edited by L. Jewett.

A.D. 1414, 2 Henry V.

Henry IV. died March 19, 1413, and Queen Joanna, during the first years of her widowhood, received every mark of attention from the new king, Henry V. The last * thing he did previously to leaving his capital for his expedition to foreign parts, was to take a personal leave of the royal widow, and, by letters patent, dated the 30th of June, 1414, to grant to his stepmother, the queen dowager, whom he describes as his dearest mother, Joanna, Queen of England, licence to live, during his absence, in any of his castles of Windsor, Wallingford, Berkhampstead, or Hertford.† It is doubtful which of the castles the queen selected, but we find, five years afterwards, in 1419, that she was arrested at her dower palace of Havering-atte-Bower, by order of the Duke of Bedford, the Regent of England, on a charge of witchcraft, and for "dealing with the powers of darkness for the king's destruction." She was committed as a close ‡ prisoner, first to the castle of Leeds, one of her own palaces, and afterwards to that of Pevensey, and, by the king's order, was deprived of all her dower possessions and personal property, even, according to Miss Strickland,§ of her wearing apparel.

* Nicolas, "Agincourt," p. 26.

† "Fœdera;" "Annals of Windsor," p. 283.

‡ Holinshed. § Vol. iii. p. 101.

A.D. 1417. From the election return set out in the last reign, it would appear that the governing body of the town numbered twelve only, in addition to the mayor; and that in them, and not in the burgesses of a lower degree, was vested the right of election of the representatives in Parliament. The thirteen subscribers to the indenture are described as "omnes comburgenses ejusdem Burgi" (all the fellow-burgesses of the burgh). This is not so clear in the following return, which was signed by seven burgesses only, "with the assent of all our fellow-burgesses;" but we must assume that these words referred to the six absentees. It will be observed that the fellow-burgesses chosen were the mayor and one of the two late members. The return runs thus:—

"Having seen the writ of our lord the king, we, John Derby, William Arnegat, John Chalym, Geofrey Little, Thomas Swalewit, Richard Algate, John Benby, with the consent and assent of all our fellow-burgesses, have chosen and appointed John Cotterel and John Derby, our fellow-burgesses, to go to the Parliament of our lord the king, at the day and place contained in the writ. To which election and appointment, those who were present at the election put to their seals."

A.D. 1418, 6 Henry V. Two days after the king came to the throne, namely on the 22nd of March, 1418, Thomas Chaucer, who had large possessions within the Honor of Wallingford, and appears to have retained the office of Constable of the Castle, had a grant of the office of Chief Butler of England, with all profits during the king's pleasure. The entry of this grant is the first on the roll.* He died in the year 1434, seized, conjointly with Matilda his wife, of the manor of Ewelme, which was annexed to the Honor of Wallingford. They were both buried in St. John's Chapel, in Ewelme Church, and a description of their tomb is given in Napier's "History," note K, p. 44.

A.D. 1420. In June the king married the Lady Katherine of Valois, surnamed "The Fair," on whom he settled, as part of her dower, the Castle and Honor of Wallingford, with the Honor of St. "Wallerie," and the neighbouring manors of Bensington and Nettlebed. This settlement embraced the dower possessions of which the unfortunate widow of Henry IV. had been deprived, and was made in accordance with an

* Patent Roll, 1 Henry V., p. 1, m. 37.

engagement in the following letter, announcing the intended union, which is noted as one of the earliest specimens extant of English prose. It is, says the king, "accorded between our fader of France and us, that forasmuch as by the bond of matrimony, made for the good of peace between us and our dear and most beloved Katherine, the daughter of our said fader, and of our most dear moder Isabel, his wife; the said Charles and Isabel be made our fader and moder; therefore them as our fader and moder we shall have and worship, as it fitteth such and so worthy a prince and princess to be worshipped before all other temporal persons of this world. Also that the said Katherine shall take and have dower in our realm of England, as queens of England hitherward were wont to take and have."

Eight years after the date of the above letter, the Castle of Wallingford was made a summer residence for her son, Henry VI.; but it would seem that the Honor was retained by the queen up to the time of her death in 1437.

William Borde was the steward of the Honor at the above period.

The festivities of the royal wedding were succeeded the next day by the siege of Sens, and the honeymoon was passed amidst the horrors of war. An heir to the throne was born in December, 1421, and nine months afterwards the king died.

A.D. 1422, 1 Henry VI.

Soon after the death of the king, Queen Katherine became attached to Owen Tudor, a handsome Welsh soldier, who had fought at Agincourt, and having received the appointment of squire of the body to Henry V., continued in the same office about the person of the infant king. Wallingford was one of the dower palaces of the queen, and, with the Honor, was settled on her for her maintenance. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the royal infant and his mother resided at the Castle there during some portion of the earlier years of her widowhood, when this attachment sprang up; but a cloud of mystery began to hang over the history of Katherine the Fair about the second or third year of the king's reign, and for thirteen years little is known of her movements or actions, except that she lived in

the utmost retirement, and gave birth, "without any very notorious scandal," to three sons successively. Her connection, however, with the Castle of Wallingford appears to have ended in A.D. 1428, when the royal son (then seven years old) was taken out of her care, and consigned wholly to the management of his governor, the Earl of Warwick. Not even at the grand ceremonial of his coronation, which took place at Westminster the next year, and at Paris afterwards, did the queen mother openly take any part. The earl, by his letters patent of appointment, is commanded, "above all things to do his utmost in teaching the king good manners, literature, languages, nurture, and courtesy, and other studies necessary for so great a prince; to exhort him to love, honour, and fear the Creator; to draw himself to virtues, and to eschew vice;" * and authority to the earl to chastise the king reasonably from time to time, as occasion should require, was given by the king himself. These principles of good breeding, of morality, and virtue were to be instilled into the royal pupil by his preceptor at the Castles of Wallingford and Hertford in the summer, and the castles of Windsor and Berkhampstead in the winter†—these being the appointed residences for the king.

In the same year (1428), it was determined by the Peers in Parliament, that the young Duke of York, who was at that time about seventeen years of age, should continually reside with the king. A writ of privy seal was issued on the 22nd of March, commanding him to repair to his Majesty without delay; and the Countess of Westmoreland, his guardian, was directed to take the necessary measures for the duke's removal, which took place early in the following month of May.‡ Knights and esquires and other officers having in the interval been appointed to be in attendance on the king's person, and such arrangements having been made in the household and chambers as befitted the position of the monarch, and were suitable for the reception of the duke.

A.D. 1425. Differences having arisen between the Prior and Convent of the Church of the Holy Trinity and the

* Nicolas, "Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council," vol. iii. p. 296.

† Ibid., p. 294.

‡ Privy Council Minutes, Nicolas' Preface, vol. iii. p. 11.

corporation of the borough, touching the ownership of certain lands, and the obligation to pay certain rents and contribute towards the expenses of the burgesses in Parliament, etc., the same were made the subject of an amicable arrangement, the terms of which were embodied in an indenture, dated in 1425. A translation of the original, which is in a bad condition, and in some parts illegible, appears among the archives of the corporate body. It is too long for insertion here.

In the same year, 1428, February 23, the Council directed a writ of privy seal * to be issued, commanding the keeper of the king's wardrobe to make allowance in the account to be rendered by Thomas Chaucer, the chief butler, for certain tuns of wine lost at sea, and "sent to Woodstock, Wallingford, Windsor, and Henley."

A.D. 1436. Leland † tells us that John of St. Helens, who lived about the beginning of this reign, was the first maker of Abingdon bridge, which took the place of the ancient ferry; and that it was a "great hindrance to the town of Wallingford, whither the trade was of Gloucestershire."

A.D. 1437. Queen Katherine ended her chequered life on the 18th of February in this year; but whether as a widow or a wife, and where she resided, appears to be by no means certain.

This brings us to the time when Owen Tudor, having escaped from Newgate, where he had been committed, was found at large at Daventry. The king summoned him before the Council, saying that he "willed that Owen Tudor, the which dwelled with his mother, Queen Katherine, should come into his presence." Owen refused to come unless he had a safe conduct, "free to come, and free to go;" and on the Council giving a written promise that he should be free to depart unharmed, Owen hastened to London, and threw himself into the Sanctuary of Westminster, where, it was supposed, the Council could not entrap him, as they clearly meant to do. At last he heard that the young king was listening to serious charges against him, from which Owen, appearing before the Council, "defended himself with such manliness and spirit that the king set him at liberty." ‡ Owen immediately retired into Wales, but the Duke of Gloucester was sent after him,

* Nicolas, "Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council."

† Vol. vii. pp. 1, 14. ‡ Strickland, vol. iii. p. 170.

and had him consigned to the tender mercies of the Earl of Suffolk, in the dungeons of the Royal Castle of Wallingford, under pretence of having broken prison. This occurred A.D. 1438 (16 Henry VI.), Suffolk having probably succeeded Chaucer as constable, on the latter's death in 1434. The warrant for his imprisonment is set out in Rymer; it ends with an order from the king to the Constable of the Castle to deliver up "to the Treasurer and Chamberlain of our Exchequer the four score and nine pounds that were found on the said priest, which you have now in hand." The priest referred to was committed to prison, with Owen and a servant; and, Miss Strickland remarks, "it is not too much to infer that this priest was the person who secretly performed the marriage ceremony between Owen and Katherine, and that the servant was witness to the wedding."* There is, however, no document in existence, so far as we can ascertain, to prove that a marriage took place; and an action against the Bishop of Carlisle, for some encroachment on her dower lands, was brought in her own name, without the slightest allusion to any second husband.

After a time, Owen was remanded back to Newgate from Wallingford Castle, and, with his priest and servant, made a second escape therefrom, "after wounding foully the gaoler." He fled with his faithful adherents to the fastnesses of North Wales; but on the defeat and death of Richard, Duke of York, at Wakefield, a Lancastrian army took him prisoner, and he was beheaded in Hereford market-place, with two or three of his comrades.†

At about this time (A.D. 1437), the Earl and Countess of Suffolk were in the full enjoyment of all the distinction attendant on high rank, riches, and court favour. The manor-house of Ewelme was their frequent and favourite resort, and by their munificence in founding and endowing the almshouse, and in other charitable works, the Ewelme Charity Estate is now placed among some of the richest charitable institutions of the country. A few words on this subject will not be out of place, considering the connection of the earl and countess with the Castle of Wallingford, and of the manor of Ewelme with the Honor.

On the 3rd of July, 1437, the king granted a licence to his

* Strickland, vol. iii. p. 163. † Stow's "Annals."

"most beloved and faithful cousin, William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and Alice his wife, to found an almshouse at their manor of Ewelme, in Oxfordshire, to be called God's House," for the support of two chaplains, and thirteen poor men, who should be "in re, et nomine, corpus corporatum," and have a common seal, with the power of possessing lands, etc. The almshouse was originally endowed with a hundred marks annually; but on the 24th of February, 1442, the founders obtained the king's permission to put it in possession, instead thereof, of the manors of Marsh, in Buckinghamshire, Connok, in Wiltshire, and Ramridge, in the county of Southampton, the value of which was then estimated at £59 a year. The livings of Marsh and Ramridge were reserved by the founders. The original copy of the statutes of the almshouse of Ewelme is written on vellum, and the last page is signed "Suffolk," without initial or date, but as in the preamble the noble founder is styled "duke," the period when the compilation was made must have been subsequent to the 2nd of June, 1448, the day on which that dignity was conferred. On the east of this "house of almesse" stands the parish church, which was rebuilt by the earl before he was advanced to the dukedom. Within the church, on the south side, is a large high tomb of alabaster, elaborately ornamented with figures and carvings; under a richly sculptured canopy of panelled stone, lies a full-sized figure of Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, who died in 1475, of whom more is said hereafter.

The large income at present arising from the Charity Estate will be considerably increased on the expiration of certain beneficial leases, at a time not far distant; and will have to be applied under a scheme which was settled by the Court of Chancery a few years ago, one of the chief features of which is the establishment of a middle-class school for the village and neighbourhood, after providing for the weekly stipend to thirteen almsmen, which now amounts to ten shillings each.

A.D. 1439. A petition was presented by the mayor and burgesses of the borough, to the king, to be discharged from the fee farm of £42 (£40 in charter, *post*), on account of the poverty of the town, which led to the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry, and the partial relief of the corporation by a renewal of the holding on less onerous terms.

The following is an extract from the Patent Rolls* on the subject:—

"For inquiry. The king to his dear cousin William, Earl of Suffolk, and to his dear and faithful John Cotesmore, greeting;—Whereas by a certain inquisition before you and William Marmyon, by our command, lately taken at Walyngford, on Friday after Trinity Sunday, in the sixteenth year of our reign and returned into our Chancery, it was found that the lord Henry,† late King of England, son of King John, by his charter, granted to the then burgesses of the town of Walyngford and their successors, perpetual freedom from landgabulum in the same town, from scotalia and geresguna, from toll and passage, and from all customs throughout his land; and all the laws and right customs which they had in the time of Henry ‡ his grandsire; and on account of such grant of quittance and the good service which they have done to him, the aforesaid town, by the name of the town of Walyngford, to hold to them and their heirs, of the said King Henry, son of King John, and his heirs, in fee farm, paying yearly £40 burnt and weighed, whereas they formerly paid £80 and a cloak of 100*s*.

"He ordered that the said burgesses should have all their rights, etc., and forbade any one disturbing them, on pain of £10. By virtue of this grant, the burgesses held the said town from King Henry and his heirs.

"At that time, in the same town, there were eleven parishes, well and sufficiently built and inhabited, with one parish church in each of them, well constructed, and served by chaplains and clerks daily, and the same burgesses, by reason of the aforesaid grant, had and received from rent of assize from all the tenants of the same, for their lands and tenements in the same town yearly (fourteen pounds), £14.

"And from the issues, profits, and payments of two views of frankpledge, and pleas, and courts, yearly £10. From fines and profits of divers guilds for their franchise and liberty, £7. From fines of buyers and sellers in the town, with tolls in fairs and markets in common years, £10.

"Afterwards the town decayed, so that the remaining inhabitants could scarcely pay half the fee farm; on account

* 17 Henry VI., Part II. m. 11 d. † 1 Henry III., an. 1216.
‡ 2 Henry II., an. 1154.

of which Richard II., by patent dated Westm., 14th June, 19 Richard II., granted them release from half the fee farm of £42, that is £21, for 20 years.

"Also Henry, father of the present king, by patent dated Westm., 19th November, 4 Henry [V.], granted a further release of the same sum for 20 years, which is now expired.

"And further, that many burgesses or inhabitants of the aforesaid town, on account of the grave and heavy charges which to them by divers misfortunes arose, retired from the said town, and certain of them by pestilence and epidemic are so reduced, and the remainder, leaving their houses and buildings desolate, have departed from the said town with their wives and children.

"And artificers and workmen fear to come thither on account of the poverty of the place, so that on account of the poverty aforesaid in the said borough, there are only four parishes inhabited, nor more churches sustained. And the benefices of the churches are so meagre, that it is necessary to leave them unserved, unless the king assist the inhabitants, because there are not more than 44 householders (*hospitum sive lares foventium*) in the town, 'whose names are appended to the foresaid inquisition.' The houses belonging to the town are so out of repair, and merchants have so abandoned it, that they cannot pay more than £10 a year of the fee farm, without final destruction.

"And the present mayor and burgesses have petitioned us, in consideration of the premises, that the same town, with all its privileges, liberties, and franchises, may be taken into our hands, and that the same mayor and burgesses and their successors from the aforesaid farm of forty-two pounds may be entirely discharged.

"We, considering the premises, and compassionating the poverty of the aforesaid mayor and burgesses, have assigned you to seise into our hands, as well the aforesaid town, with its liberties, privileges, and franchises, aforesaid, upon the surrender of the said mayor and burgesses, and the same mayor and burgesses from the said fee farm entirely to discharge.

* * * * *

"And to treat with the said mayor and burgesses for a new holding of the same town, with all its liberties, etc., at a rent more befitting the condition of the said town.

"Witness the king at his manor of Kenyngton, the 20th day of May."

A.D. 1441. On the death of Katherine of Valois, in January, 1437, her son the king became possessed of the Honor of Wallingford. The office of Constable of the Castle appears to have been held by the Earl of Suffolk up to this time, when it was granted * conjointly to "William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and Alice his wife, for life;" thus varying the terms of the original appointment. On a renewal of the grant, about four years afterwards, it was extended to John, son of said William, then Marquis of Suffolk, and Alice his wife.† Quickly following, the marquis was made great steward of the royal household,‡ and in 1448 (26 Henry VI.) he was advanced to a dukedom. The official record of some of these appointments appears by letters patent dated the 27th of November, 1445. With the grant they received a salary of fifty pounds per annum, ten pounds of which were given to their deputy, as appears by their acquittance; and they were also joint stewards of the Honor of Wallingford and St. Walerie.§

No patent of the first appointment of the earl as Constable of the Castle has been found, but the warrant for the transfer of Owen Tudor from Newgate to Wallingford was addressed to him in that character in 1438.‖ The words are: "Li quel Owen par nostre commandement vous avez amesnez devers nostre consail, et par advis d'icel deliverez a nostre Trescher et Foial cousin le Contee de Suffolc, Conestable de nostre Chastel de Wallinford, pur lui sauvement et seurement garder dedeinz mesme nostre Chastell." ¶

Distinctions continued to be heaped upon Suffolk, who, as minister of the Crown, was afterwards all-powerful in the government of the country. The king, it is said, had no capacity for public affairs, and his consort, Margaret of Anjou, and his minister, ruled in the royal name. Soon, however,

* Rot. Pat., 20 Henry VI., p. 2, m. 4.

† Ibid., 24 Henry VI., p. 1, m. 1.

‡ Dugdale, "The Baronage of England," tom. ii. p. 188.

§ Napier, p. 64; "Ministers' Accounts," 29 Henry VI.; Public Record Office.

‖ 16 Henry VI. ¶ Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. x. p. 686.

the varying fortunes of the great in that age checked the onward career of the duke. The popular clamour set in against him; he was accused of having acted faithlessly to his royal master, was supposed to favour the pretensions of the Duke of York, "who thirsted for the crown," and was denounced for surrendering the provinces in France, from which the French king had made his successful attack on Normandy. Tumults arose in several places. A national inquiry was resolved on, and the Commons required that the duke might be committed to safe custody. The lords and judges, upon consultation, decided that no good cause had been shown for committal. Still the Commons would not let the matter rest. On the 28th of January, the Speaker came again before the Lords, and "declared that the Duke of Suffolk, as it was said, had sold this realm to the French, who had prepared to come hither; and that the said duke, for his own defence, had furnished the Castle of Wallingford with all warlike munition,* to the intent that if this puissance come unto this realm, they may have there a place of refuge, and of succour, unto the time they may achieve their malicious purpose;" † whereupon, at the Speaker's request, the said duke was committed to the Tower of London.

Articles of impeachment were presented against him, and he was found guilty of some of the minor charges. The king released the duke from his imprisonment, and restored him to favour, which so much incensed the people, that the king, as a temporizing expedient towards his favourite, ordered him to absent himself out of the realm of England for five years, but with secret design to recall him as soon as the storm was over. The assumed mildness of the sentence rekindled the flame of popular clamour, and Suffolk narrowly escaped the violence of the mob in his way to Ipswich, where three ships were in waiting to take him across the British Channel.‡ He had neared the Straits of Dover, when he was met by an armed force, which had been sent out to assassinate him. His vessel was boarded by the captain of a ship of war belonging to the Duke of Exeter (then Constable of the Tower of London), called *The Nicholas of the Tower*, and brought into

* "Parliamentary History," vol. ii. p. 255.

† Rolls of Parliament, vol. v. p. 177.

‡ Turner's "History of England," Kennett, vol. ii. p. 379.

Dover road. Here he was drawn out of his ship, with the ominous salutation, "Welcome, traitor!" A mock trial ensued, but his fate had been determined beforehand. "With a rusty sword, one of the lewdest of the crew smote off his head, with half a dozen strokes," and thus was a faithful servant of the Crown first exiled, and then murdered; and no inquiry was made into the circumstances of his death, so powerless was the Crown against the violent party which had sworn the duke's destruction. No sooner, however, had the king been informed that his authority had been slighted, and the sacred majesty of the laws outraged, by the murder of his minister, than he at once made a provision for the widow. By a grant dated the 8th of May, 1449, six days only after the Duke of Suffolk's death, a special concession was made "to our dearest cousin, Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, of the custody of all lordships, castles, hundreds, manors, lands, and tenements which had belonged to her late husband, and, on account of the minority of John, his son and heir, would come into the hands of the Crown, to hold the same till her son should be of age;"* and the king left it to the duchess to make, at any time before the ensuing Michaelmas, the arrangements with the treasurer as to the terms on which she was to hold the lucrative trust committed to her. Thus the duchess had, by the king's special favour, the custody of all her late husband's large property. In the *post-mortem* inquisition,† the Castle of Wallingford is not named, probably because it had already passed to her under the grant of 1441, but the new park, called Haydon Park, apparently the park of Ewelme, land there, and other possessions in the Honor of Wallingford, are described. The inquisition runs thus respecting the Honor: "William, Duke of Suffolk held in the county of Oxford, land in Throp, Cudlyngton, Suithorn, and Hanewell of the Honor of Wallingford. Also the manor of Throp, two messuages in Woodstock, and the moiety of 100 acres of wood in Ewelme, and advowson of the church of Ewelme, held of the Honor of Wallingford; and the advowson of the eleemosynary house, or hospital for the maintenance of two chaplains and thirteen poor men in Ewelme. Likewise, conjointly with Alice his wife, 300 acres of land, and 20 acres of wood with appurtenances, called Grendonland, in the

* Fine Roll, 28 Henry VI. † No. 25, m. 3.

parishes of Tuffield (Nuffield), Ewelme, and Benseyngton, lying between the new park, called Haydon Park, on the east side, and the lands called Potter's and Soulas on the west side," etc.

In about a year after the grant, namely, 1451, the duchess resigned her late husband's possessions, and gave up, it would also seem, the custody of the Castle of Wallingford, and the Honor of Wallingford, and St. Wallerie. "The ward and keeping of the two parts of all the castles, lordships, manors, honors, hundreds, fee farms, lands, etc., exclusive of her dowry, were, by letters patent of the 1st of June, 1451, committed to Sir Thomas Scales and Sir Miles Stapleton;" but this grant to Scales and Stapleton was cancelled in 1453, and a regrant of all that had been possessed by the duchess was made by the king to her, and ratified by Parliament. What induced the duchess to give up her possessions does not appear. Probably some pressure from without was put upon her; for in the interval prior to 1453 the country was in a very unsettled state, and a formidable insurrection, headed by a man named Jack Cade, who had abjured the kingdom for murder and served in the French army against his own country, had occurred, and who, having met with a temporary success, and secured the occupation of London, caused the duchess to be indicted for treason at Guildhall. Nor was this rancorous feeling against the duchess confined to such men as Cade; the Parliament itself showed its hostility towards the Suffolk family, in two remarkable petitions which were presented to the king. In the one, which prayed for the removal of the members of the court, and that they might not be allowed to approach the presence of his Majesty by the space of twelve miles, the duchess was the only lady proscribed; and in the other petition, which passed the Commons in the same session, the king was urged to declare the late Duke of Suffolk a traitor, that his blood be corrupt, and his estates forfeited to the Crown. The king, however, befriended the duchess, and, so far as she was concerned, rejected the prayer of the petitions.

We have seen that the tragical death of the duke did not allay the excitement of the people. A starving and disaffected rabble had joined the insurrection under Cade, and then came a renewal of the struggle between the contending houses of

York and Lancaster, called the War of the Roses,—the rival pale and purple roses. The beginning of the struggle was the first battle of St. Albans, which took place in May, 1455, and terminated in favour of the Yorkists, who, within five years, became masters of the king's person, and of the government of the country. Immediately succeeding this battle, the Duchess of Suffolk appears to have deserted the house of Lancaster, to which she owed everything, and given her support to the government of the Duke of York, and, as Constable of Wallingford Castle, to have received the Duke of Exeter, a supporter of the Lancastrian party, who was taken prisoner by the victorious Yorkists.* The Earl of Worcester was directed by the Government to repair to Wallingford Castle, for the alleged purpose of taking the charge and governance of the duke, but Napier suggests that he was sent as a spy on the constable herself, whose submission to Worcester's authority, within the precincts of her own jurisdiction, could not be otherwise than derogatory to the duchess's dignity and rights of office; while on the other hand, to oppose the Government, by resisting its will, was dangerous to her power. In this dilemma, it would appear, the complete defection of the duchess from the Lancastrians took place. Another motive which is said to have influenced the duchess, was the promise of a matrimonial alliance of the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, the second daughter of the Duke of York, with her son, the youthful Duke of Suffolk, which marriage afterwards took place.† There is, however, great room to doubt whether the imprisonment of the Duke of Exeter was in any way connected with the battle of St. Albans. It is stated that he was committed on account of certain riots and disturbances at the parliamentary election for Cambridge and other places; and the dates appear to show, if we adopt the old style of computation, that many months elapsed after the battle before the committal took place.

The following official documents show the circumstances attending the imprisonment of the duke in Wallingford Castle, the mission of the Earl of Worcester, and why the

* Nicolas, "Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council," vol. vi. p. 70.

† Sandford's "Genealogical History," p. 400; Napier, p. 95.

latter was discharged from the duty that had been imposed upon him, of keeping the duke in safe custody.

Letter from the king to the Duke of Exeter, 3rd February, and apparently in the 33rd Henry VI. (1455)*:—

"By the King.

"R. H.—Right trusty and well-beloved cousin. For certain riotts and offenses doon by you, and othre causes, us and oure Counsaill moevyng, we wol by th' avis of the same oure Counsaill and in the straitest wise charge you that in all possible hast after the recyvyng of thees our letters, ye adresse you unto our Castell of Wallinford, so that ye be there atte the ferthest on Tywesday next comyng, and there abide unto the time ye have otherwise in commaundement from us by writyng, not failing herein upon the feith and ligeance that ye owe unto us. Yeven undre oure privi seel and signe manuell at our paleys of Westm̃, the iij^{d} day of Feverer.

"To our right trusty and wel-beloved cousin, the Duc of Excestr."

Minute of the Council, 26th June, 33 Henry VI. (1455):—"M^{d} that the xxvj. day of Juyn, the xxxiij yere of oure souverayn lord's regne, King Henry the vj^{te}, he commaunded by th' advis of his Counsail yat letters of his prive seel shold be directed to the Erle of Worcestre willynge him, that howe be it that ye king late by his lettres of prive seel commaunded him that he shold goo to the Castell of Wallyngford, and yere in the same take the charge and gouvernaunce of the Duc of Excestre, beyng in warde in the same Castell to ye tyme the king gave him oyerwise in commaundement, yet he hath not mowe doo it because yat, as it is seid, the Duchesse of Suff̃ is Constable of the same Castell, and yerfore other letters of prive seel were directed to the seid erle, dischargyng him of the keping the seid duc in the seid Castell, and willyng and desyryng him for certain causes moevyng the king to come to his presence, etc.

* "Acts of the Privy Council," 33 Henry VI., by Nicolas, vol. vi. p. 234.

† Nicolas, vol. vi. p. 245.

"Item, other letters undre the prive seel the same day were directed unto the Duchesse of Suff recytyng ye discharge of the seid Erle of Worcestre for ye same Duc of Excestre, commaundyng her that she entende to ye suer and sauf kepyng of the seid Duc of Excestre as she wol answere unto the king at her perill."

Referring to the above Order of Council, the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., in Napier, p. 94, suggests that probably the Earl of Worcester, on his arrival at Wallingford, found the duchess averse to his entering the Castle, with so much power as the king's letter had given him, as an infringement of her right as constable, or as preventing her from properly discharging the duties of her office; or secondly, that the duchess herself had represented to the Council that the powers given to the earl were inconsistent with her rights and duties as the person regularly appointed to the office of constable; or thirdly, that she and the earl had jointly made this representation to the Council. Indeed, it does appear that as long as the duchess had vested in her the office of Constable of the Castle, to which office belonged the custody of prisoners, the powers granted to the Earl of Worcester were too large.

Anno 1441, 20 Henry VI. A suit depending between Edmund Rede, Esquire, of Borstall, and John Warefield, gentleman, of Wallingford, was referred to the arbitration of Richard Restwold and William Marmyon, who agreed on this form—

"Be it known to all true crystan men that where Edmund Rede, squyer, sued a formedon against John Werefeld, gent. for certain tenements in Walyngford, in Berks, the which tenements were sometime John Anasty of the same town. Upon which strifes and debates, by mediation of both their friends, have put all their matters, actions, strifes, and debates that are between them upon Richard Restwold and William Marmyon, sqyers, either of them to be bounden to the other in forty pounds, to abide the rule and arbitrament of the said arbitrators, upon these conditions, that he that abeyeth the said award, he to have restitution of the obligations aforesaid. And so at the request of the said Edmund and John, the said Richard and William, arbitrators, arbitryn and demeyryn that the said John Werefeld and his feoffees shall make the said Edmund and his feoffees, at the cost of the said Edmund,

a good and sufficient estate, as the council of the said Edmund shall devise, of a tenement with the garden, which is called Anastyes, a tenement late in the hands of Harry Skarelborowe, a garden called Hasel-garden, with a principal mese place, sometime in the hands of John Hampden, to have to the said Edmund and to his feoffes, and to the heirs of the said Edmund for evermore. And furthermore, if at any time hereafter the said John Werefeld will put to sale a barn with a garden lying thereto, that standeth next a street called Mascallys Lane, then the said Edmund shall be fore chapman, paying therefor as they both may agree and accord."

The said Edmund Rede gave two acres of arable land in the village of Clapcote to the Priory of the Holy Trinity in Wallingford, in exchange for the yearly rent of two shillings, issuing from a certain garden within the town of Wallingford, for which they mutually covenanted, by the following indenture :—

"Hæc indentura facta inter Willielmum Wells, priorem ecclesiæ Sanctæ Trinitatis Wallingford, et ejusdem loci conventum, ex unâ parte, et Edm^dm^ Rede de Borstall, in com. Bucks, armigerum, ex parte alterâ, testatur, Quod prædicti prior et conventus per eorum assensum et consensum tradiderunt, demiserunt, et concesserunt præfato Edmundo quendam redditum annualem duorum solidorum exeuntem de quodam gardino in tenurâ Johannis Warefield quod jacet in Burgo de Wallingford inter vicum vocatum Wodestrete, et extendit se in vicum vocatum Lekestrete ex parte boreali usque in tenementum magistri hospitalis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, ibidem, modo vocatum le Cockerye, ex parti australi, in excambium pro duabus acris terræ arabilis dicti Edmundi jacentibus in campis de Clapcote, etc. Habend. et tenend. etc. a festo Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis proximè futuro usque ad finem sexaginta annorum extunc proxime sequentium et plenarie completorum, etc. Dat. apud Wallingford prædict. 9° Maii, anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti post Conquestum Angliæ tricesimo primo."

A.D. 1447. About this date the king addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Chancellor of England, commanding him to issue letters of pardon to Thomas Kerver, who was then a prisoner in Wallingford Castle. Kerver had been, with other servants of Humphry, Duke of Gloucester,

condemned for high treason, to be "drawen, hanged, and qwarterd," the king being "advysyd to tempre in this cas mercy with rigoure," extended a free pardon to the traitors. The letter displays great anxiety that the king's leniency on the occasion should not encourage the same crime in others, and with this view the chancellor was enjoined to take care that the merciful act should not be generally known, and that it should not form a precedent for similar leniency. The royal command, however, was not readily obeyed. Chief Justice Fortescue was of opinion that the forms of law, if not the law itself, interposed obstacles in the way of the issue of the writ; and alleging that he had not the power, he declined to issue it; * whereupon, as a last resource, the chancellor was directed to order the Constable of the Castle wherein Kerver was confined to discharge him without delay. It was supposed that Fortescue's refusal arose from his disapprobation of the favour shown to Kerver, as well as from his doubts as to the legality of the order. The following is a copy of the king's warrant, from the Public Record Office:—

"By the King.

"Right Reverend fader in God, Right trusty, and Right welbeloved, we grete you wel;—And how be hit that we now late sent unto oure trusty and wel-beloved knight, John Fortescu, oure chief justice, charging hym to deliver oute of oure Castel of Walyngford in our behalve, Thomas Kerver, which by oure commandement hath long tyme been in ward in ye prison of our said Castel. Yet natheless ye said John Fortescu hath do us to understande, that he hath no pouair so to do in any wise. Wherefore we wolling for certain causes and consideracons especially moeving us, the forsaid Thomas to be in brief tyme deliver out of ye said prison without any firther delay, charge you yat ye do make oure writt in due fourme directed unto the Connestable of oure said Castel or his depute commaunding him straitly to deliver ye forsaid Thomas out of the forsaid prison, and so souffre him to goo at large. And þat ye faille not herof, as we truste you. Lating you wite þat it is oure ful wille þat ye shal so do. And we wol theese oure letters to be unto you souffisant warrant and discharge in

* "Excerpta Historica, or Illustrations of English History;" "Fœdera," vol. xi. p. 180.

þat behalve. Yeven under our signet at Pottern, the xxv. day of Aoust, the yere of our Regne xxv.

"To the Right Reverend fader in God our Right trusty and Right wel-beloved tharchbishop of Cant' oure Chauncellier of Englande."

The alliance of the Duchess of Suffolk with the house of York, secured to her the custody of Wallingford Castle, and when, in October, 1460, the Parliament decided that the administration of the government should remain with the Duke of York, and that he should be acknowledged the lawful heir to the monarchy, her tenure of that office was rendered more secure, and she appears to have held it up to the year 1471, if not to the time of her death in May, 1475. By the favour of the king, it was originally bestowed upon her; to him she was enjoined by her late husband to be faithful; but now, no sentiment, even of compassion towards a fallen patron, is manifested by the faithless duchess. Henry, who was a king only in name, became a wanderer from one place of concealment to another, and was protected with difficulty by his friends, till at last in July, 1465, as he was at dinner at Waddington Hall, he was betrayed by a monk to Sir James Haddington, who conveyed him to London; and after having been treated with great ignominy by his enemy, the Earl of Warwick, was conducted to the Tower. A lonely captivity for five years in the gloomy prison brings us to the time when the queen consort, Margaret of Anjou, was incarcerated in the same fortress. She had fought battles with indomitable courage in almost every province of England, and after that of Tewkesbury was taken prisoner. The same night (May 22, 1471) that she was brought a captive to the Tower, she was made a widow; "that night, between eleven and twelve o'clock, writes the chronicler in Leland, was King Henry put to death, the Duke of Gloucester, and divers of his men being in the Tower." After the death, the imprisonment of Queen Margaret was at first very rigorous, but it was after a time, says Miss Strickland, ameliorated through the compassionate influence of Edward's queen, Elizabeth Woodville, and "Margaret* was removed first to Windsor, and afterwards to Wallingford, where she seems to have been under the charge

* Strickland, vol. iii. p. 298.

of the noble castellaine, Alice Chaucer, Duchess Dowager of Suffolk, her old favourite. At least, such, we think, is the inference to be drawn from the observation in one of the Paston Letters, dated July 8, 1471: 'and as for Queen Margaret, I understand that she is removed from Windsor to Wallingford, nigh to Ewelme, my Lady Suffolk's place, in Oxfordshire.'"

Five marks a week were allotted by Edward IV. for the maintenance of the unfortunate Margaret, during her imprisonment in Wallingford Castle. Her tender-hearted father, King René, was unwearied in his exertions for her liberation, which was at length accomplished, at the sacrifice of his inheritance of Provence to Louis XI. for half its value, and the payment of fifty thousand crowns by five instalments.* The first instalment of her ransom was paid to Edward's treasurer, Lord John Howard, November 3, 1475, "and the bereaved and broken-hearted widow of the holy Henry, after five years' captivity, was conducted from her prison at Wallingford Castle to Sandwich," where she embarked, and safely arrived at Dieppe in the beginning of January, 1476. On the 29th of January she signed a formal renunciation of all rights which her marriage in England had given her, "with all other things there to Edward, now King of England."

In the foregoing extract, the date of the Paston letter is given as July 8, 1471. The correct date is January 8, 1472,† when Sir John Paston, in writing to his mother, incidentally makes the statement quoted. That statement seems hardly sufficient to warrant the inference that the queen was committed to the custody of the duchess. Under the grant of 1441, the latter was appointed for life to the custody of the Castle, conjointly with the earl, and in 1445 her son's name was added to the grant. In 1449, a special royal concession was made to the duchess of the custody of all castles, manors, etc., which had belonged to her late husband, to hold till her son should be of age, and by letters patent, dated in 1471, her son, to whom the title of Duke of Suffolk had been restored in 1464, was appointed constable of the fortress. It would, therefore, seem that to him, and not to the duchess, the safe keeping of the queen was committed. But whether to the one or the other, how bitter must have been the asso-

* Rymer, and French Archives.

† "Paston Letters," vol. ii. p. 89.

ciations! "Twenty-seven years before," says Napier, "Alice had, with all the splendour which England could afford, accompanied her husband to France, to bring home Margaret, 'in flower of youth, and beauty's pride,' as queen to this country! Then all was hope and happiness. But now this same Margaret, a widow, childless, degraded from her regal power, 'broken with the storms of State,' was a prisoner on the poor allowance of 'five marks a week,' in a fortress which once had owned her sway!"

The death of the duchess took place at her mansion-house at Ewelme, on the 20th of May, 1475 (15 Edward IV.). Speaking of her, Napier remarks, "Vanity and pride were the dangerous rocks she split on; and her joining herself to the Yorkists, when the star of the house of Lancaster was on the wane, proves her ambition. Few women ever had a more gradual and successful rise in the world than Alice Chaucer. Born the daughter of a gentleman of no illustrious descent, she became in name *lady* by her contract of marriage with a knight; next a countess by her first marriage, and during her second marriage she reached the higher dignities of marchioness and duchess. She was honoured with the robes of the Garter; she saw her son the brother-in-law of sovereigns, and her grandchildren princes and princesses. But all those distinctions would not secure her peace of mind, and the close of her life may have been much embittered by the events above recorded, and the recollection of earlier and happier days."

CHAPTER III.

EDWARD IV. TO HENRY VIII.—1461 TO 1509.

A.D. 1464, 3 Edward IV.

We have before observed that the title of duke was restored to John de la Pole, son of the last-named duchess, in this year. The dignity had been forfeited by his father's attainder; and on his marriage to the Princess Elizabeth (the sister of Edward IV.), the king, by letters dated the 23rd of March, gave to him the patent of appointment. His reversionary interest in the office of Constable and Steward of Wallingford Castle and Honor, and of the Honor of St. Wallerie, which had been granted to him in conjunction with his father and mother, probably determined under the operation of the Act of Resumption of the first year of this reign; and in 1471 a new patent, set out hereafter, was granted.

A.D. 1465. By letters patent of the 6th of April, an annuity of one hundred marks was granted to John and Elizabeth, Duke and Duchess of Suffolk, out of the rents, etc., of the lordship and Honor of Wallingford.* This annuity had probably some connection with the court appointments which Suffolk held. At the celebrated tournament which took place when the "Bastard of Burgundy" came to England to meet Lord Scales in the lists, the duke was his constant attendant, and bore the helmet before him when he entered the field.† In the year 1468 he was made Lieutenant of Ireland.

A.D. 1468. In the following return of parliamentary representatives, the elective body is stated to be the bailiffs of the burgh and fellow-burgesses. The mayor is not men-

* Close Roll, m. 13; Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 579.

† "Excerpta Historica," p. 207.

tioned, as in the return under date 1417; it may be that that officer occupied the position of one of the borough members in the preceding Parliament, and sought a renewal of the trust; or some other disability, apart from personal interest, may have rendered him incompetent to act. The common seal of the borough was affixed to the return, which seems to show that the bailiffs and fellow-burgesses acted in a corporate capacity; for who else, besides the corporation or governing body, would have had the disposal of, and power to legalize their acts by affixing, the borough seal?—

"Hac billa indentata, etc., testatur quod Henricus Glasyer et Johanes Medowys, ballivi Burgi de Wallingford et comburgenses Burgi prædicti, ex unanimi assensu et consensu eligerunt Johannem Colynggrugge et Robertum Hoptoik, Burgenses essendi ad parlimentum Domini Regis, etc. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum commune apposuerunt."

A.D. 1471. That Suffolk's conduct throughout was approved of by the king, may be concluded from the important trust that was now committed to him. By letters patent granted by Edward, Prince of Wales, on the 19th of July, 1471, he was appointed Constable of Wallingford Castle, and Steward of the Honors of Wallingford and St. Wallerie; to which was added the office of steward of the four hundreds there, videlicet Ewelme, Burford, Pyrton, and Lewknor.*

A.D. 1475. On the death of the Duchess of Suffolk, her son, the duke, had writ of livery of seisin of all the possessions she had held in dower or otherwise. The grant does not enumerate any lands by name; but in a deed which is headed, "Concerning a writing which has been enrolled," and referring to the will of Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, sundry estates passed, and among them the manor of Newnham Courtney, in the county of Oxford, and lands and tenements at South Moreton, in the county of Berks, both which places are near this town.

A.D. 1482. On the 4th of September, Sir Richard Grey, by letters patent, was made Constable of Wallingford Castle, the office having been held by the Duke of Suffolk up to this time.† Whether the duke was superseded in the appointment or resigned it, does not appear. Sir Richard, it may be pre-

* Ministers' Accounts, 21 Edward IV.

† Ibid., 22 Edward IV., Public Record Office.

sumed, owed his advancement to the queen, whose son he was; but his tenure of the office was of short duration, and terminated, it would seem, on the death of the king in the next year.

A.D. 1483. The wardship of Francis Lovell, son and heir of Sir John Lovell, Knight, Lord of Minster Lovell, in the county of Oxford, was granted to the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk.*

In the last year of the reign of Edward IV., and early in the short reign of King Richard III., honours and appointments were freely bestowed upon Francis Lovell. On the 15th of November, 1482, he was first summoned to Parliament; within two months after, King Edward IV., "intimately weighing Francis Lord Lovell's strength in arms, the probity of his morals, and his knowledge, fidelity, and industry, by writ of privy seal created him Viscount Lovell." †

On the 25th of June, 1483, the day before Richard the Third's accession, Lord Lovell was elected Knight of the Garter, and on State occasions occupied a high place of honour. He became one of the king's favourite ministers, and was among the nobles who attended the king, when, on the 5th of July, he rode through the city of London towards Westminster, with great pomp. The day after, in the procession of Richard's coronation, "the Lord Stanley bare the mace of the constableship, upon whose right hand the Earl of Kent bare a naked pointed sword, and on his left hand the Lord Lovell the like naked pointed sword, the former signifying justice towards the temporalty, and the other justice to the clergy.‡ At the banquet which followed, the first course, when brought in on gold and silver plate, was preceded by the Duke of Norfolk, Marshal of England, and other great officers of State, and among them Lord Lovell; and my Lord of Audley, carver to the king all the dinner-time; and my Lord Scrope of Upsall, cupbearer; and so my Lord Lovell, standing before the king all the dinner-time, and two squires lying under the board at the king's feet." §

In the next month new grants were made to Lord Lovell of offices which he then held.

* Patent Roll, 11 Edward IV., Part I. m. 22.

† Charter Roll, 22 Edward IV., No. 1.

‡ Speed, p. 917. § "Excerpta Historica," p. 383.

On the 4th day of August, 1483, "our beloved cousin Francis Lovell, Knight, Viscount Lovell, and our chamberlain, for the good and faithful services which he has rendered and will render to us," had a grant of the office of Constable of Wallingford, and Castle of Wallingford, and Steward of the Honor of Wallingford, Saint Valerie, and of the four hundreds and a half of Chiltern for life, with the same fees and wages which John, Duke of Suffolk, lately received annually, with power to appoint his lieutenant in his absence, and all his officers and ministers, and to give and grant all the offices in the Castle, Honor and hundred aforesaid." *

The following extract from the Harleian MSS.,† is dated 17th May:—"Item, an open lettre to all thofficers of thonor of Wallingford, aswel within the Castell as without, shewing thaim that the kinges grace hathe graunted unto the Viscount Lovell during the kinges pleasure, the keeping of the said Castell, and the hole rule and oversight of the said honor, with putting out, countynueng, or making of new officers in the same," etc.

On the same day he was appointed Chief Butler in England, at 100 pounds sterling annually, Steward of the lordships of Cookham and Braye, in the county of Berks, and of sundry manors, as well as Master Forester of Wichewood and other woods.

A Harleian manuscript gives us the following, under date June, 1484:—"The Lord Lovell hath a warrant to the Receiver of Wallingford, to pay unto him 20 pounds, which, by the king's commandment, he paid for him." ‡

Lord Lovell, who was present at the battle of Bosworth, succeeded in making his escape thence, and fled, with Sir Humphrey Stafford and Thomas Stafford, his brother, to Saint John's, at Gloucester.§ The document from which the annexed extract is taken, is dated soon after the period when Lord Lovell took refuge in that sanctuary.‖

"Honor of Wallingford. Office of Receiver.

"Account of William Bedwall, the lord the king's Receiver of his Honor of Wallingford, from the Feast of St. Michael the archangel, in the second year of the reign of Richard the

* Patent Roll, 1 Richard III., m. 5 (2).

† No 433, art. 2201, fol. 221 b.

‡ No. 433, art. 1448, fol. 104.

§ Holinshed, p. 759.

‖ Napier, p. 333.

Third, late king *de facto*, *et non de jure* [1484], unto the same Feast of Saint Michael from thence next following, in the first year of the reign of King Henry the Seventh [1485], for one whole year.

* * * * *

"*Rent of Assize.*

"For 13 shillings and 4 pence, lately received from the proceeds of a certain meadow there, called Quene herber, * containing 4 acres of meadow, this year not received, because it was occupied by a servant of the Lord Lovell's, late Constable of the same Castle [Wallingford].

* * * * *

"*Fees and Wages.*

"And in the fee of Francis Lovell, Knight, Viscount Lovell, Constable of the Castle of Wallingford, and Steward of the Honor of Wallingford, to wit, for his fee for the half of this year, by the acquittance of the same Francis, of the receipt of the same upon this account shown, and with me remaining, of the same, 25 pounds." †

In Henry the Seventh's first Parliament, which met at Westminster, on the 17th day of November, 1485, Lord Lovell and others, the late King Richard's adherents, were "convicted and attainted of high treason, and disabled, and forjudged of all manner of honors, estate, dignity, and pre-eminence," etc. ‡

Under this attainder, Lord Lovell was deprived of the guardianship of Wallingford Castle, and stewardship of the honor; and in the next year, he stirred up, with the Staffords, rebellion throughout the kingdom, but it seems he had neither courage nor capacity for such an enterprise, and secretly escaped into Flanders, where he was protected by the Duchess of Burgundy.§

* Now called Queen's Arbour, on west of Thames.

† Ministers' Accounts, of Henry VII., Public Record Office.

‡ Rolls of Parliament, vol. vi. p. 276 a.

§ Hume.

A.D. 1485, 1 Henry VII.

Within a month after the accession of Henry VII., we find the Suffolk family again in favour, and the head of it holding the office of Constable of Wallingford Castle. A strange deviation from the path of duty, in furtherance of personal considerations, appears to have marked the course adopted by the duke, not only in the two preceding reigns, but also in this. The son of the duchess had been created Earl of Lincoln, by her brother, Edward IV., just before his death. On that event happening, both the duke and duchess were found to be "mean deserters of their brother's blood;" they tacitly consented to the deposition of Edward V., and gave their support to Richard on his usurpation of the crown. A grateful return was soon made. On the 31st day of March, 1484, having lost his only child, the Prince of Wales, King Richard declared the Earl of Lincoln his successor to the throne, and settled on him certain manors in Berkshire and other counties, and, during the life of Thomas, Lord Stanley, an annuity of £176 13*s.* 4*d.* out of the issues of the duchy of Cornwall. But with the battle of Bosworth terminated the life of the king; and any hope the duke and duchess may have entertained of their son's succeeding to the crown, it is reasonable to suppose, must have terminated also, with the other honours and distinctions that had been conferred on them by the king. Not so, however, with the earl, whose ambition was unextinguished by the death of his patron, although it was not till 1487 that he openly avowed his traitorous purpose.

At the coronation of the victorious Earl of Richmond as Henry VII., the Duke of Suffolk took part in the ceremony, bearing the royal sceptre close to the person of the king, and at the Parliament at which the succession to the crown was settled, no longer professing himself one of the late king's adherents, but acting as a loyal subject of the Lancastrian conqueror; and then, as we have said, within a month after his accession, the king conferred on the duke the important trusts in connection with the Castle and Honor of Wallingford, which even the latter's great patron, Richard, had not seen fit to do. It is strange that an adherent of the dethroned king, one allied to him by kindred, and who had

borne the badge of hostility to the Lancastrian party, should have been thus favoured; but so it was, and Suffolk was reinstated in an office which he had held twice before, the appointment to which is thus recorded: "The king, in consideration of the good and faithful service, which his faithful subject, John, Duke of Suffolk, had performed and intended to perform, granted to him the office of Constable of the Castle of Wallingford, to hold for life by himself or deputy." *

This appointment was secured to him by an exception in his favour in the general Act of Resumption, which was passed in the Parliament † begun on the 7th of November, 1 Henry VII. (1485).

The rash step which the Earl of Lincoln had contemplated, to overturn the English Government, was openly taken in the month of March, 1487. He had been carrying on, for some time previously, concealed intrigues with Lord Lovell and the Duchess of Burgundy, to effect that object, and it may be supposed that the father was not altogether ignorant of his son's intentions. However, the young earl's career in this desperate enterprise was soon over. Notwithstanding "his great bravery and show of courage in the face of the king's forces,"‡ he was completely vanquished, and fell at the battle of Stoke, with most of his chief captains and four thousand other soldiers. The victory was complete, and the insurrection put down, and by Bill of Attainder, it was enacted by Parliament that "John, late Earl of Lincoln, be reputed judged and taken as traitor, and convicted, and attainted of high treason, that all honors, castles, manors, lands, etc., of which he was possessed be forfeited to" the king; and also all those to which he would have become entitled on the death of his father.

How Lord Lovell actually ended his days is a matter of doubt. Speed says he was slain at the battle of Stoke; according to Hall, he was drowned in the Trent, on attempting to cross that river on horseback, after the battle; while Carte inclines to the opinion that he escaped from Stoke, and that he lived long after in a cave or vault. This notion, he says, "is countenanced by a discovery made about

* Patent Roll, 1 Henry VII., p. 1, m. 14 (22).

† Parl. Rolls, vol. vi. p. 361. ‡ Speed.

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* Patent Roll, 1 Henry VII., p. 1, m. 14 (22).

† Parl. Rolls, vol. vi. p. 361. ‡ Speed.

sixty years ago* (on occasion of a new building at his seat of Minster Lovell, near Witney, in Oxfordshire), of a room underground, in which was found the figure of a venerable old man, sitting in a great chair, resting his elbow on a table, and supporting his head with one of his hands, but the whole frame dissolved into dust soon after the air entered."

Mr. James Parker, of Oxford, referring to this romantic legend, remarks, "A cellar was opened, in which the remains supposed to be those of Lord Lovell, were discovered, lying near a table, sitting at which he is supposed to have died, as the only servant who had a clue to his hiding-place, from death or some other chance, never returned to give him food." This was the same Lovell known in the distich—

"The cat, the rat, and Lovel the dog,
Rule all England under the hog."

Notwithstanding past events, the king ostensibly entertained a generous compassion for the Suffolk family, and imputed to the indiscretion and folly of youth, under strong temptation, the rebellious action of the son. The duke continued to hold the office of Constable of the Castle; and, notwithstanding the recent loss of his son, and the ruin which the attainder brought on them, we find the duke and duchess at court, taking part in the queen's coronation, and in court ceremonial. Still a step was taken which seems to imply that the duke's tenure of the office of constable was by no means considered secure; and hence the expression of a wish to surrender it. By letters patent† dated the 16th of February, 4 Henry VII., the office of Constable of Wallingford Castle was granted to Sir William Stonor and Sir Thomas Lovell, knights of the king's body, "whensoever the same should become vacant by death, surrender, resumption, forfeiture, or privation, to hold for life," and by letters patent of the 3rd of March, 1489, the grant was made to them, "as the king had been informed of the duke's intention to surrender the letters patent into Chancery to be cancelled, and that he had surrendered the same."‡

* Carte published his "History of England" in the years 1747–55. The discovery was made in 1708, when an alteration was being made to a fireplace.

† Patent Roll, 3 Henry VII., p. 1, m. 9.

‡ Ibid., 4 Henry VII., p. 1, m. 4.

Sir William Stonor, one of the gentlemen in whose favour the resignation was made, was the eldest son of Thomas Stonor, Esquire, of Stonor, in Oxfordshire, by Johanna, a lady whom the Duke of Suffolk, at a very early period of his life, had acknowledged as his illegitimate daughter.

No record of any actual surrender of the letters patent has been found; and inasmuch as the duke continued to hold the constableship of the Castle till his death, which took place in 1491, or within a year of that time, the affair may be supposed to have been a family arrangement, which the duke had still sufficient influence with the king to effect.

According to Camden,* the duke died of grief, owing to the ruin brought on the family by the Earl of Lincoln's rebellion. The duchess died in the spring of 1495, at a very advanced age.

A.D. 1485. On the 21st of September, the offices of Feodary of the Honor of Wallingford and porter of the Castle there were granted to James Parkar, Esquire, for life. Patent Roll, p. 1, m. (23), No. 56.

And on the 10th of November in the same year, William Bedwhale had a grant during pleasure of the office of receiver of the Honor and lordship of Walyngford, parcel of the duchy of Cornwall. P.S. No. 434, Patent Roll, p. 1, m. 8 (28).

On the 13th of November, the king granted to Richarde Crompe the office of Feodary of the Honor of Wallingford,† in consequence of the following petition:—

"Mekely sheweth unto your highnesse your feithfulle true servaunt and liegeman Richarde Crompe, oone of the marchallis of your halle, that whereas he, jeopardyng his lif, landes, and all his goodes, came and did y^r^ highnesse service in your late victorious felde and jorney, at his propre coste and charge, and also by his meanes and diligent labour caused the town of Shrewesbury to be delivered unto your handes at your comyng by that wey. It may please your highnesse, in consideration of the premisses and that your said servaunt may be of habilite to do your grace the more acceptable service, to graunt unto hym thoffice of feodary of your honour of Walyngford, to have and enjoyoie the same

* Gibson's Camden, vol. i. p. 453.

† Patent Roll, 1 Henry VII., p. 1, m. (29).

by hym self or his deputies sufficient, with the fees and wages to the said office due and accustumed, yerly to be perceived by thandes of the resseivour of your said honour for the tyme beyng atte festes of Ester and Michelmasse by evene porciouns, with all other prouffites, commodites, and avauntages thereunto belongyng or in eny wise apperteynyng; and that he may have theruppone your gracious lettres patentes in deu and lauful fourme, to hym to be made. And he shal hartely pray to God for the conservacioun of y moost high and roial astat."*

A.D. 1488. A special licence, dated the 18th of April, was granted by the king to Sir Thomas Scrope, of Upsall, Knight, who was under parole at Wallingford Castle, to go and stay in any place in England not more than twenty-two miles distant from London. The patent sets forth that on the 27th of August last, James Strangways, county York, Knight, Thomas Fitzwilliam, of Alderwerke, county York, Knight, and John Huddelston, of Sudley, county Gloucester, Esquire, had in the Chancery bound themselves to the amount of two thousand pounds each, and become mainpernors of the said Thomas Scrope (and the said Thomas Scrope had likewise bound himself), that he should not leave Wallingford Castle or any other castle or place which might be assigned to him to remain in, without the king's special licence. Given at the city of Chichester, April 23. P.S. No. 118, Pat., 3 Henry VII., p. 2, m. 1 (21).

30th May, 1488. Grant for life (in consideration of the grantee's cordial affection and good service to the king, and in reward for his medical attendance upon Prince Arthur, the king's firstborn son) to Stephen Bereworth, doctor in medicine, of an annuity of forty pounds, out of the issues of the manors of Princes Rysborough, Bensynton, Watlynton, and Whitechurch, parcel of the Honors of Walyngford and St. Wallerie, members of the duchy of Cornwall. Given at Windesor, E., June 12. P.S. No. 72, Pat., 3 Henry VII., p. 2, m. 3 (19).

The good deeds of this Dr. Bereworth to the town of Wallingford are referred to hereafter, p. 74.

1st December, 1490. Livery was granted to Arthur,

* "Materials Illustrative of the Reign of Henry VII.," edited by Rev. William Campbell, M.A., vol. i. p. 156.

Prince of Wales, Earl of Chester, and Duke of Cornwall, of the duchy of Cornwall, and all castles, lordships, manors, lands, etc., pertaining thereto, with other grants, in order that he might the better sustain the honour of the dukedom. This charter is so torn, darkened, and defaced, as to be imperfectly legible. Of the several concessions of the grant the following, however, are still preserved on the parchment:—The farm of the town of Walyngford, with the Honors of Walyngford and St. Wallerie, in Berks, Oxon, and other counties, the castle and honor of Berkhampstede, with the park and honor of Berkhampstede, counties Herts, Bucks., and Northampton.*

A.D. 1495 to 1502. Edmund de la Pole, the eldest surviving son of the duke and duchess, succeeded to the empty title without the means to support it, all the family possessions having been forfeited by his brother's attainder. To obtain a reversal of this attainder was now the object of the de la Poles, and a strong case was made out for extending the royal clemency to the representative of the distinguished family, who was a prince of the blood, first cousin of the queen, and a sufferer by no fault either of his father or himself; but all the king was willing to do was to restore some of the forfeited manors, lands, and tenements, under certain conditions. Among them, in this neighbourhood, were Ewehelm, Newenam Courteney, Lewkenore, Aston Torold, Karsington, and Westcompton. Thus we find that the earl had the honour of receiving his sovereign in the year 1495, at Ewelme Court, and that in 1499 he presented Master Roger Hoorde to the vacant rectory of that parish.† The office of Constable of Wallingford Castle, which had almost become hereditary in the family, was not acquired by him, but passed to Arthur, Prince of Wales; and the crime of murder of which he is said to have been guilty, his subsequent rebellion against the Crown, and his flight from the country without the king's permission, shut him out from all chance of subsequent promotion.

In September, 1501, "Robert Harcourt, knight of the

* Brewer, vol. iv.

† Dr. John London, Dean of St. Nicholas' College, in Wallingford Castle, of whom mention is made in Part II., was appointed by the Crown to the Rectory of Ewelme, vacant by the death of Roger Hoord (Patent Roll, 17 Henry VII.).

king's body, was appointed Steward of the manors and lordships of Ewelme, Oakley, Swyncombe, Lewknor, Neneham, Swerford, Hooknorton, Kidlington, Thorp, and Carsington, with all their members and appurtenances, with the mastership of the game of the park aforesaid, within our county of Oxford, which late were of our rebel and traitor, Edmund, late Earl of Suffolk, and at present, by reason of his rebellion, have come to our hands and disposal." * It appears by the Queen's Bench Plea Roll, that the earl was in custody in the fourteenth year of this reign (1499). In 1502, he was outlawed,† and in January, 1503, an Act of Attainder, having a retrospective effect, was passed against him and his associates for treason, with the forfeiture of all their possessions. After wandering about Germany and France till the year 1506, and suffering imprisonment in the Tower of London for seven years, he was beheaded there in 1513.

A.D. 1500. By letters patent, the king granted to his well-beloved lieges, the mayor, burgesses, and inhabitants of the town of Wallingford, the right to hold in perpetuity two fairs annually.

TRANSLATION.

"Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, dukes, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, reeves, constables, and other our officers, ministers, faithful lieges, and subjects whomsoever, as well within liberties as without, to whom these present letters shall come, greeting;—Know ye, that we of our special grace have granted and given licence, and by these presents do for us and our heirs as much as in us is, grant and give licence to our beloved lieges, the mayor, burgesses, and inhabitants of our town of Wallingford, in our county of Berks, that they and their successors yearly for ever may have and hold, and may be able to have and hold within our aforesaid town, two fairs, that is to say, one on the Feast of Saint Nicholas, bishop and confessor, and the other on the Feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, with a Court of Piepoudre there, in every year to be holden, together with toll or tollage, and with all issues, pro-

* Patent Roll, 17 Henry VII., p. 2, m. 3.

† Controlment Roll, 17 Henry VII., m. 33 d.

fits, and amerciaments to the same fairs and court belonging or coming, and with all profits and emoluments to the same fairs, and either of them in any wise appertaining or belonging, so that those fairs be not to the damage of the fairs of the neighbourhood. Wherefore we do will, and by these presents do grant, for us and our heirs, that the aforesaid mayor and burgesses and inhabitants of our town aforesaid, and their successors, may yearly have and hold, and may be able to have and hold for ever, the said fairs on the feasts aforesaid, with the said court and toll or tollage, together with all issues, profits, and amerciaments out of the same fairs, court, toll, or tollage coming, and with all profits and emoluments to the same fairs, and either of them in anywise appertaining or belonging, without the disturbance, hindrance, molestation, or grievance of us, our heirs or ministers whomsoever. So nevertheless that those fairs be not to the damage of the neighbouring fairs as is aforesaid. And this without fine or fee therefore to our use in our hanaper in anywise to be rendered, paid, or taken. These being witnesses: our most dear first-begotten son Arthur, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester; the most reverend Fathers in Christ, J., Cardinal-Archbishop of Canterbury, Chancellor of England, and Thomas, Archbishop of York; and the venerable Fathers in Christ, R., Bishop of Durham, Keeper of our Privy Seal, and O., Bishop of Bath and Wells; and our most dear second-begotten son Henry, Duke of York; and our most dear cousin Edward, Duke of Buckingham; and our most dear cousins John, Earl of Oxford, Great Chamberlain of England, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, and Thomas, Earl of Derby, Constable of England; and also our well-beloved and faithful Sir John Dynham, of Dynham, Knight, our Treasurer of England, Sir Robert Willoughby, of Broke, Knight, Steward of our Household, and Sir Giles Daubeney, of Daubeney, Knight, Chamberlain of our Household, and others. Given under our hands at Westminster, the fifth day of November, in the fifteenth year of our reign."

A.D. 1504, 19 Henry VII. An intimate connection must have subsisted between the borough of Wallingford and the Lovell family, particularly Sir Thomas Lovell, whose election as Knight of the Garter took place in or about the year 1498,

and who became Treasurer of the Household, and was nominated a member of the Privy Council in the year 1502.*

On the 20th of February, 19 Henry VII., William Adene, junior, the mayor of the borough, and the aldermen, bailiffs, burgesses, and commonalty of the same, "granted to Thomas Lovell, knight of the king's body, and of the most noble Order of the Garter, and his assigns, the nomination and advowson, patronage and free disposition, to present any fit person whatsoever to the House or Hospital of Saint John the Baptist, in Wallingford aforesaid, together with the Hospital of Saint Mary Magdalene, within the parish of Newenham Moreyn, near Crowmarsh [in Oxfordshire], united and annexed unto the same Hospital of Saint John the Baptist, for one turn only, after the date of these presents, whenever it shall happen to become vacant." †

"Wallingford. At a great court held the 27th of April, 22 Henry VII., Master Mayor, and the aldermen, with the consent of all the burgesses, have made and recorded an act, that Master Stephen Bereworth, doctor, and Dean of the College of Wallingford, and Master of Saint John's, of the said Wallingford, and Sir Thomas Lovell, Knight of the Garter, shullen be prayed for terms of their lives, in every parish church of Wallingford foresaid, every Sunday, for their good prosperity and welfare, for their good deeds that they have done to our said town. And every curate to have for his labours every year iiij^{d} and his dinner to be paid by the baylies in the day of the obit holden. And after their lives, to have *Dirige* and Masses for their souls, and for all the burgesses' souls, departed to God before this time, yearly; the first year to be kept at Saint Mary's, the second year at Saint Peter's, the third year at Saint Leonard's, and the fourth year at Allhallows; and there every burgess shall offer j^{d} to the curate, and he that maketh default, to lose vi^{d}, without lawful excuse." ‡

In the same year (1507), the king, "at the humble suit of the mayor and his brethren of the said town, upon sembable causes and considerations, granted, by letters patent,§ the said town, unto the said mayor and his brethren, and their successors, for the term of 42 years yielding therefore yearly but

* "Testamenta Vetusta," vol. ii. p. 640.

† Old Ledger of the Borough of Wallingford.

‡ Ibid., p. 1. § 22 Henry VII.

£15, and remitted unto the said mayor and his successors the residue of the said yearly rent and fee farm of £42 per year, which amounts to the sum of £27 per year."* This was a large reduction, and shows how the prosperity of the town continued to decrease. The fee farm rent does not appear to have been wholly remitted as stated in the MS. "History of Wallingford." The expenses attending the obtaining the above letters patent are entered in the Corporation "Ledger," as amounting to £4 0*s.* 8*d.*, being 7*s.* 3*d.* less than the sum appearing by the particulars to have been expended, thus:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Fees to the Exchequer	2	3	2
„ „ Great Seal	1	0	4
Travelling expenses of William Adene the elder and John Hamson, bailies, as under:			
Supper at Brentford	0	1	3
At Richmond, for breakfast at Sharpe's...	0	1	9
Horsemeat at Brentford	0	1	0
Two suppers at London, with Master Reynelde and other company	0	2	0
Spended at a supper at London, with clerks of the Exchequer	0	2	6
Spended at Richmond, on gentlemen's servants with the signet	0	0	10
For bedding and boat hire	0	3	0
Horsemeat, 4 days and 3 nights	0	4	3
A box to put in our Charter	0	0	2
Gifts to the clerks, controllers and their friends	0	7	8
	£4	7	11

Confession of Robert Forde:—Memorandum, that on the 16th day of May, 22 Henry VII., Robert Forde, of East Hendred, in the county of Berks, husbandman, confessed before William Adene, junior, mayor of the borough, and coroner within the said borough, and before William Young, coroner of the liberty of the Abbot of Saint Albans, that he himself, on the 14th day of May last past, by force and arms, namely,

* Patent Roll.

with a sword and a dagger, made an assault on John Sketefeld [Thetifeld], clerk at Brightwell, in the county aforesaid, and with a dagger struck him on the head, even to the brain, through which he died.*

In addition to the many ancient documents with which the corporation chest abounds, the municipal body possess two large folio books in good preservation, called the "Ledger" Book and the "Statute" Book. The earliest in date commences 22 Henry VII., and has this heading in the first page, "Actys made by Mastr Mayore of y^e^ Borogh theyr." Page 1 contains a list of the corporation on the 27th day of April, 1508, William Adene, junior, being mayor. The mayor, three aldermen, and eleven burgesses are named as being in office, including the recorder, and the names of eleven burgesses appear as being out of office. The offices held by the burgesses were those of two bailiffs, two constables, two mace-bearers, two victual-tasters, and two other (ale) tasters.

Among the earlier entries are in substance the following :—

Inhabitant burghers may plant any trees in the common, to take profits for their life, afterwards profits to go to the town.

Item. Any person felling or shrouding any tree, etc., without licence of the bailiffs, to forfeit 6*d.*, and his body to ward.

Every stall-keeper at the fairs of St. Nicholas and St. John the Baptist, and every Sherey Thursday, to pay 1*d.* per day.

Certain orders as to the fish-market are inserted. Penalty of 1*s.* on buyer and seller for forestalling the poultry-market, which was to be held at the cross.

If there be any man that misbehaveth himself against Master Mayor, or any of the aldermen, to lose every time 6*s.* 8*d.*; for every other offender, as often as he so trespasseth, 3*s.* 4*d.*

A lease of shops under Guildhall to Alderman Adene and others is mentioned. The shops to be kept in repair by them.

At the aforesaid Great Court [Burghmote], Master Mayor hath commanded and enacted, by the advice of the aldermen and burghers †—

That no man's servant, nor apprentice, be out of his master's house any night-time, after nine of the clock, without

* Old Ledger, p. 2. † Corporation Ledger, p. 3.

a lawful excuse, under pain, any time so found trespassing, 12*d.*, and his body to ward.

That four men should go about the town and assess (sesse) the town watch, according to right and old custom.

That all kine from 1st of October to Hocktide, be kept at night from straying into the streets, and a fine of 12*d.* be imposed in case of default.

A similar act was made as to hogs, which were not to go out into the streets at any time without a keeper, "except that a sow be a brymmying."

Servants were forbidden to play at tables, dice, or cards on working days, both by night and day, in any ale-house or tippling-house, under penalty, on the master of 12*d.*, and on the servant of 4*d.*

All tipsters were to set forth their signs and ale-poles before their places at all times, when they had ale to sell, and to sell ale as long forth at the door by lawful measure, by pot as within the door, except three gallons, under pain of 12*d.*

In the next reign, 29 Henry VIII., tipsters were limited to one quart of ale out of the doors, and half a "thigrdenhele;" and bread was to be provided within the house.

Another act at the aforesaid court imposed a fine of 3*s.* 4*d.* on all dwellers adjoining the Market-place who neglected to cleanse the streets against their houses before Michaelmas Fair.

Aldermen were restricted, under penalty, from sending more than two kine into the common belonging to the borough, and "Forriners" more than one after the old custom. In the earlier translations the word "Forinsecus" is used.

At a court, A.D. 1509, "David Bellingam, of Abendon, by Thomas Crowch hys attorney, declareth and sayth the 19th year of King Henry the 7th, that he solde a lode of harde wode to Roger Gill, coper, price y^e^ lode, 2*s.*

"Item for the carriage of 2 lode howfosse stuffe from Drayton to Abendon, 16*d.*

"Item for goode ale, 11*d.*

"Item for two rowles and a halfe of peinal, 20*d.*

"Item for Hoppys, for his occupation, 20*d.*

"The which money y^e^ forseyde Roger hath long withheld from the foreseyd Davy, contrary to his promise and to ryght and good conscience, to the cost and damage of the foreseyd

Davy, 7*s.* 7*d.*, the which matter he will answer as the court will award, whereupon he demandeth and prayeth his suit with costs and damages."

In the early part of the reign of Henry VIII., various acts and ordinances were enacted by Master Mayor at the "Great Courts" held in the Guildhall, chiefly relating to trade. Here follows the substance of a few of them :—

All brewers were to sell thirteen gallons to the dozen of ale for 22*d.*, so long as a quart of malt was not more than 8*s.*, and all tipsters to sell out of doors, a quart of ale for a half-penny, while malt was at that price.

Brewers were to sell in and serve the town, at the same price of one half-penny.

Bakers were to make four loaves for a penny, and two loaves for a penny, and "no penny bread but it be spoken."

At a court, 13th January, 23 Henry VIII., Thomas Pollington, mayor, it was enacted that, "from henceforth, no man being a town dweller shall be arrested, nor attached to appear before us at our courts there, any law to be administered unto them to the contrary, except he be a fugitive, and going out of town, with intent to defraud any man."

In p. 34 of the Ledger is the following entry relating to the sale of corn :—"No manner of person shall sell no manner of corn in no house, nor pitch any sack in no house, but that it be brought into the market, and there to remain, without any sale, until such time that the bell be rung, at the hour of 11 of the clock, and that he that doth the contrary after proclamation, shall forfeit, every seller 20*d.*, and the buyer as much."

No manner of foreigner was to be attached, "but if he be a fugitive, unless he put in his declaration at the entry of the action."

At a court held 38 Henry VIII., Henry Huntley, mayor, it was enacted, "that no foreigner shall be arrested or attached on a market day or fair day." In the margin is a note, probably about the seventeenth century, "This order contra leges." On the 9th of May, 7 Edward VI., the order was repealed.

In the "History of the College of Arms," * there is an interesting passage under the heading, "Wallingford Pursuivant Extraordinary, Henry VII., October 1, 1489," relating to

Thomas Wrythe or Wriothesley, Esquire. "It is remarkable," says the author, "that this king-at-arms should be so highly advanced from the place of a pursuivant extraordinary. He was created Wallingford, upon the investiture of the king's eldest son Arthur as Prince of Wales.†

"Sir Thomas Writhe or Wriothesley, Knight, came early into the college, being first Wallingford Pursuivant to Arthur, Prince of Wales, afterwards to Henry VIII. whilst Prince of Wales. He attended his father into Bretagne, in 1491, who dying, and Machado Clarenceux being a foreigner, he petitioned Henry VII. for and obtained the office of Garter principal king-at-arms; but only during pleasure, and conditionally that he gave Clarenceux £20 a year during life, reserving 40 marks for himself, which afterwards was raised to £40. The patent passed January 26. Soon after the accession of Henry VIII., he obtained, October 9, 1509,‡ a new patent, in which he is called 'Thomas Wriotesley, alias Writh, filius Joannis Wriotesley, alias Writhe, nuper dicti Gartier.' Speaking of his promotion, he said, 'I never had any roome of an herald, and therefore took not my oath of an herald, but only that of a purseuvant, and was only Wallingford Purseuvant with the prince (*id est*, Prince Arthur), and also with Prince Henry, now being the king our sovereign lord, out of whose service I was preferred to the roome of Garter.' He was peculiarly whimsical respecting the orthography of his name, sometimes signing himself Tho. Wr. Crik, *i.e.* Thomas Wriothesley, Cricklade; Wrye, Wallingthen, Wryst, Wallingford. This not pleasing him, he made it Wreseley; and so Queen Catherine Parr wrote the name in a letter of condolence to a lady of his family when she had lost her only son. Not satisfied with this name, he made it Writhesley; that was changed for Wrotesley, and lastly to Wriothesley, a name long appropriated to a very

* By Mark Noble, London, 1805, p. 96.

† "Prince Arthur entered the king's barge, attended by noblemen, knights, esquires, kings-at-arms, heralds, and pursuivants, trumpets and minstrels. After he had been created a knight, the king created him an herald, and named him Wallingford" (Anstis' "Notes").

‡ Patent Roll, p. 2, m. 16. The above £40 was directed to be paid out of the petty customs of the port of London (Brewer's "Letters and Papers").

ancient family in Staffordshire, still resident there, with the title of baronet, descended from one of the first Knights of the Garter, created at the institution of the order by Edward III. This was as weak as calling his father Sir John, when he never had been knighted. Henry VII. sent him to Guido Ubaldo, in Italy, with the insignia of the Garter, and upon the same errand to Ferdinand, King of Castile. Henry VIII. sent him to summon Tournay. He accompanied the Princess Mary to France to be married to Louis XII. He received for his service 13*s.* a day for his ordinary expenses, was allowed four servants and two horses of carriage, one to convey his clothes, the other his bed furniture, and seven other horses. Richmond, who accompanied him, had 8*d.* a day ordinary, and two horses. Clarenceux had previously gone over probably to Calais, to receive the princess on her landing."

CHAPTER IV.

HENRY VIII. TO JAMES I.—1509 TO 1625.

A.D. 1509, 1 Henry VIII.

By letters patent,* dated at Greenwich, 22nd July, Brian Tuke, Clerk of the Signet, was appointed Feodary of Wallingford and St. Walerie during pleasure.

In the same year, 28th July, an annuity of five marks, lately held by Agnes Butterer (Butteler), deceased, was granted to Rawlyn Yong and Joan his wife, for life, with the issues of the lands belonging to the Castle and Honor of Wallingford.†

1st October, 1509. At a Borough Court, a complaint was made against an ironmonger in London for supplying ‡ seed that "was neither good marchant, nor never came to profit." The town seal profited to the extent of 3*s.* 4*d.* at his cost, the decision being against him.

A.D. 1509. Legatees of King Henry VII.:—"A declaration of all such sums of money as hath been restored, delivered, and paid unto bishops, abbots, and priors, by the lords executors of the testaments and last will of the late king of noble memory, King Henry VII."

Payments are recorded to the Bishops of Chestre, Lincoln, Excetour, and Sarum; the Abbots of Ramsey, York, Chester, Redyng, Abendon, Battell, Waltham, St. Albans, Shyrburne, Wigmore, and Crowlande; and the Priors of Lewys and Walyngford.

* Patent Roll, p. 1, m. 17; Brewer's "Letters and Papers," *temp.* Henry VIII.

† Patent Roll, p. 1, m. 15. ‡ Corporation Ledger, sub ann.

A.D. 1510. Inquisition taken at Wallingford on the penultimate day of June:—"The jurors say that John, late Earl of Lincoln, who was attainted of high treason in the third year of King Henry VII. [1487], was seized of the manors or demesnes of Long Wittenham, Frylscham, Carford, Ffyffehyde, and Eton, with all their appurtenances; which manors fell, or ought to have fallen, into the hands of the king, by reason of that attainder, and that they are worth eighty pounds per annum." *

11th April. The deanery of the "College or Free Chapel of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, in Walyngford Castle," was granted to John Underhill, Bachelor of Canon Law, void by the resignation of Stephen Bereworth.

A.D. 1511. By patent dated at the Tower of London, 13th January, Geoffrey Dormer was appointed Feodary of the Honor of Walyngford and St. Walrie during pleasure, with the fees from Michaelmas last.†

And on the 21st of June, the office of porter of the Castle of Walyngford was granted to William Norborough and Thomas Ward, yeoman harbinger, in survivorship.‡

Debts owing to King Henry VII. Among the "Diverse prelates bound to the king, deceased, and for non-payment put in suit in the second year of the present king (1511), appears Henry, Prior of Wallyngford."

A.D. 1513. By letters patent § dated the 11th of June, the manors of Ewelme, Turners, and Hoke Norton, in the county of Oxford, and the castles, lands, and tenements, which were forfeited by the attainder of Edmund de la Pole, were granted to Sir Henry Marney and others, in trust for his widow lady, Margaret Pole, for her life, which ended on the 15th day of May, 1515, within about two years after the execution of her husband.

In May in this year (1513), a subsidy was granted to the king. The assessment of the property ‖ in the borough, on which the subsidy was calculated, comprised 140 names for the first instalment, yielding a sum of £5 16*s.* 10*d.* The amounts vary from 6*s.* 8*d.* to 4*d.*, William Adene the elder and Thomas Pollington paying 6*s.* 8*d.* each. The return,

* Public Record Office. † Patent Roll, p. 1, m. 6.
‡ Ibid., p. 1, m. 6. § Ibid., 5 Henry VIII., p. 1.
‖ Corporation Ledger, p. 15.

founded on the above assessment, was made by John Hudson, mayor.

In the next year, several further entries relating to the subsidy appear in the Ledger. The total collected was £8 7*s.* 6*d.*, William Adene being assessed on land, and £80 on goods movable; the latter paid a twentieth part of the value of land.

In the Bodleian Library, Oxford, there is a receipt dated the 3rd of May, 1513, by the Prior and Convent of Ledes, to the Prior of Wallingford, for 2*s.*, being the first half of a subsidy granted to the king by the clergy of Canterbury, from the church of Newyngton, Oxon; and on the 12th of December the payment of the second half was acknowledged.

There is also an acknowledgment, dated the 10th of May, 4 Henry VIII., by Henry, Abbot of Rewley and the convent there, collectors in the archdeaconry of Oxford of the first half of the subsidy granted to the king, in the last Convocation of the clergy, of the receipt of 102*s.* 9*d.*, from the Prior of Wallingford, for spiritualities and temporalities.

On the 20th of October, 1516, another subsidy was granted, probably to pay for the French war, and the commissioners appointed William Adene, junior, of Wallingford, to be the collector in certain parishes in this district, named in the appointment. Wallingford appears for £8 7*s.* 6*d.**

A.D. 1515. At the gaol delivery for Walyngford Castle on the 16th of November, the judges were Sir Edward Chamberlyn, Gilbert Stoughton, Robert Vyne, and William Yong.†

The royal gifts on New Year's Day in this year amounted to the sum of £11,113 13*s.* 9*d.* Among the recipients were the Dean of Wallingford, for going to Canterbury with the king's offering at the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket, 20*s.*, and his costs, 20*s.* Dr. Fairfax, for a book, £13 6*s.* 8*d.* A woman for a pomaunder, 13*s.* 4*d.*; one for a cake of wax, 10*s.*; a woman for "quene apples," 6*s.* 8*d.*; one that brought pomgarnetts, 13*s.* 4*d.*; Earl of Wiltshire's players, 13*s.* 4*d.*; Dr. Rawson, 49 priests, at our Lady of Pewe, 8*d.* each; king's offering, 3*s.* 4*d.*

A.D. 1518. In a letter dated Wallingford, 14th July, from Richard Pace, Secretary of State, to Cardinal Wolsey, the

* Corporation Ledger, p. 3.

† Patent Roll, 7 Henry VIII., p. 2, m. 8 *d.*

writer states, "I could not send by the bearer the commission signed by the king, as he is gone 'in hunting.' To-morrow the king leaves for Bisham, as it is time; for they do die in these parts in every place, not only of the small pokkes and mezils, but also of the great sickness." *

It may be inferred from the above letter that the court were in residence at Wallingford Castle at this time, and that the commission referred to was in connection with one of the two events which signalized Wolsey's movements during that year; namely, the ceding of Tournay to the French king, at the instance of the minister; and his appointment as legate, under the pope's commission, whereby, at the king's desire, he was invested with the sole power both ecclesiastical and civil—a power which he exercised in such an unscrupulous way as to excite the great displeasure and disgust of the people.

A.D. 1520. By patent, † Thomas Warde, yeoman harbinger, was appointed doorward of Wallingford Castle, *vice* William Norburghe, deceased, and by a royal grant,‡ 1521, Robert Laward, *alias* Lord, was to be receiver and feodary of the honor, on surrender of the patents granting the said offices to Geoffrey Dormer, dated 19th November, 1515.§

By patent,‖ dated 6th June, 13 Henry VIII., Sir Michael Carewe was appointed reversioner of the offices of Constable of Wallingford Castle and Steward of the Honor of Wallingford and St. Walrie, and the four and a half hundreds of Chiltern; to hold for life on vacation by Sir Thomas Lovell, knight of the body, to whom, and to Sir William Stonore, knight of the body (now deceased), the said offices were granted in survivorship by patent, 3rd March, 4 Henry VII.

A.D. 1522. The following grants were made in this year of possessions in the Honor of Wallingford. In January, to William Slythwist, lease ¶ of lands in Watlynton for twenty-one years; rent, 53*s.* 4*d.*, and 13*s.* 4*d.* of increase.

In April, to William, son of Sir John Daunce, the king's Councillor, lease ** for sixty years of the manor of Whyte-

* Brewer's "Letters and Papers."
† Patent Roll, 11 Henry VIII., p. 2, m. 32.
‡ Ibid., 12 Henry VIII., p. 1, m. 21.
§ Ibid., p. 2. m. 36.
‖ Ibid., p. 1, m. 17.
¶ Ibid., p. 2, m. 2.
** S. B. Patent, p. 3, m. 17.

churche, Oxfordshire; rent, £24. Also acquittance of all wages, annuities, etc., granted out of the manor.

A.D. 1523. The loan and musters. In Brewer's "State Papers," * reference is made to "an abbreviate" of the books of views and musters brought into the Star Chamber by John Hall, in the name of Sir Thomas Fetiplace. It embraces the hundreds and districts of Hornemer, Oke, Moreton, Abington, Walyngford, Sonning, Wargrave,† Cookham, Braye, Reading, Windsor, and Okingham.

In July, the king granted ‡ to the inhabitants of Prynce-risburgh, in the county of Bucks., parcel of the Honor of Wallingford, a weekly market on Wednesdays, a fair on the eve, day, and morrow of the Nativity of St. Mary, and another on the eve, day, and morrow of St. George.

On the 30th of August, 15 Henry VIII. (1523), commissions were issued for collecting the subsidy granted for four years, by the Commons, at about half the sum demanded by the king, which made him so dissatisfied that, on the pretence of necessity, he levied § a large portion of it in one year. The commissioners for the borough of Wallingford were Thomas Pollynton, mayor; William "à Dene," senior, William "à Dene," junior, John Hudson, aldermen; and the mayor and aldermen for the time being.

By a note it appears, says Brewer, that Wallingford, with Windsor and Reading, are struck out.

That Wallingford escaped is borne out by the Corporation Ledger, in which there is no entry relating to a subsidy in this year, nor previously since the year 1516. The next subsidy affecting the borough appears to have been in 1538. (29 Henry VIII.).

In Part II. we have referred to the grant by the Crown, about this time, of the priory of Black Monks, in the town, to Cardinal Wolsey, as part of the endowment of his intended college at Oxford. It is stated by Elias Ashmole, and in the "Beauties of England and Wales," that the Castle and manor of Wallingford were made over by the king to Wolsey, at the same time and for the like purpose, and that upon the latter's attainder, the sacrilegious prince reannexed them to

* Vol. iii. art. 3687.

† These names are spelt in the MS. "Stonnyng" and "Margrave;" no doubt an error of the writer for the places mentioned in the text.

‡ S. B. Patent, 15 Henry VIII., p. 1, m. 23. § Hume, vol. iii. p. 41.

the Crown; but documentary evidence appears to be wanting to show that anything more than the priory, the tithes belonging to the College of St. Nicholas, which was situated within the Castle precincts, together with some small portion of the large possessions of the Honor in other parts, passed to the cardinal (see Dugdale, Gough, Lysons, and Lipscombe's "History of Bucks."). That a royal residence and strong fortress should have been made over in aid of the endowment, is not likely to have been the case.

A.D. 1527. The king granted a lease for twenty-one years to Lambert Osbaston, as Mayor of Wallingford, and to the succeeding mayors, of thirty-three acres of meadow, near Wallingford Castle, called Kyngesmedowe (King's Meadow), at a rent of £7, and 2*s.* of increase.*

This mead, which adjoins the river, was held by the corporation, and let out in small allotments to the burgesses of the borough. There are various orders in the Corporation Ledger† respecting the fencing and proper management of the meadow by the different holders. In the 23rd Henry VIII., it was enacted that the enclosure should be "quick-setted," and a cowherd be appointed. No stallion was to be allowed in King's Mead, under a penalty of 4*d.* All grants of the acres of King's Mead to persons not dwelling in the town were to be void, and every burgess going out of the town was to release his right. In the 30th and 31st Henry VIII., other orders were made for the prompt payment of the rents and for fencing round each allotment. It would seem, from these entries, that the floods which now so frequently submerge this meadow were of rare occurrence in the time of Henry VIII. The quick-setting spoken of would be impracticable at the present time.

A.D. 1527. The confession of Thomas Down, late of Henley, was taken before the mayor and coroner in the Church of St. Mary, Wallingford. He had been concerned in housebreaking and murder at Tunbridge, and stealing gold and silver coins, and a white cap from a coffin. The servant of the house detecting him, he struck her, and she died of the wound. Down probably escaped the penalty of death by taking refuge in the sanctuary, and confessing his crime.

A.D. 1528. 17th April. A grant was made by the king to

* Patent Roll, 18 Henry VIII., p. 1, m. 10. † Page 34.

John Underhill, Dean of the College in Wallingford Castle, by way of lease for twenty-one years, of two water-mills, called Walyngford Mills, at the annual rent of £8, and 6*s.* 8*d.* of increase.*

By another grant,† dated 21st June, 1529, Roger Hackeman was to have the ferry, fishing, and boats at Shillingford Ferry, between the counties of Oxford and Berks, parcel of the Honor of Wallingford, held at the annual rent of 33*s.* 4*d.*, by William Yong.

A.D. 1536. At a court held on the 18th of January, Thomas Day, mayor; Thomas Gay, one of the aldermen, and Agnes Gay his wife, appeared before the mayor and aldermen, and bound themselves not to "give any inconvenient words to each other," on pain of £5.

A.D. 1537. On the 31st of December, there is an entry in the Corporation Ledger of the appointment of assessors for the fifteenth subsidy, by the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, "for to assess all manner of burgesses and foreigners within the said town." Other assessors were to be nominated if those appointed did not assess themselves according to right and conscience. Collectors were also appointed, the sum to be levied in the town being £9 12*s.* 5¾*d.*

The Family of Norris.

A.D. 1520 to A.D. 1536 (28 Henry VIII.).

Sir Edward Norris, Knight, was son of Sir William Norris, who was a commander in the king's army against the Earl of Lincoln, at the battle of Stoke, on the 6th of June, 1487. He married Fredyswide, sister and co-heir of Francis Viscount Lovell,‡ who was the king's chamberlain.

This lady shared in the liberality of Richard III., who, as we have seen, conferred so many favours on her brother. On the 10th of January, 1485, she had a grant for the term of her life, confirmed by privy seal to the Receiver-General of Wallingford, of an annuity of 100 marks out of the issues of the honor or lordship of Wallingford, dating from the Festival of Easter last past.

* Patent Roll, 19 Henry VIII., p. 2, m. 20.

† Ibid., 21 Henry VIII., p. 2, m. 5.

‡ Dugdale, "The Baronage of England," tom. ii. p. 403.

Sir Edward Norris and Frideswide his wife had two sons, John and Henry. The particulars we are about to give relate to the latter, who afterwards held the office of Constable of the Castle of Wallingford, and whose life was sacrificed apparently in the attempt by the king to justify the murderous proceedings by which he got rid of his wife, Anne Boleyn.

In the year 1520, in the celebrated "Field of the Cloth of Gold," in the vale of Ardres, the personal interview between Henry VIII. and Francis I. of France took place, when English and French vied with each other in giving splendour and magnificence to the scene. The English were marshalled under the Earl of Devonshire, who assigned to Henry Norris a high place in the ceremonial.*

On the 12th of September, 1523, Henry Norris had a grant of the office of bailiff of the town and lordship of Watlyngton, Oxon, and keeper of the park and woods there, for life, parcel of the Honor of Wallingford. Two years afterwards he had the wardship and marriage of William Morgan given to him. On the 23rd of October, 1526, he was made Usher of the Black Rod, to bear the same before the king at Saint George's Feast, in the castle of Windsor. Norris was also squire of the body to the king, and in 1528–29, one of the gentlemen of his privy chamber, and in the same year he had an annuity granted to him of £100, during the minority of Edward, Earl of Derby.† In 1529, it is recorded, after Wolsey had delivered up the great seal by the king's command, and was making his way from Westminster to Esher by water, that Norris was sent by the king, on the delicate mission to bid the cardinal be of good cheer, and to present to him a ring of gold, as token of good will; telling him that what the king had done, in depriving him of office, was to satisfy others, and that he should be recompensed twice as much. On the 29th of November, 1535, Norris was appointed Constable ‡ of Wallingford Castle. As keeper of the park of Ewelme, he probably, at the time of his appointment, resided at the lodge within the park. A brass plate in the Church of Ewelme records the burial there of a child of his

* "Chronicles of Calais," p. 26.

† For authorities, see Napier, p. 340.

‡ Dugdale, "The Baronage of England," tom. ii. p. 403.

in 1529. With the honour and emoluments and increased duties attached to his more important office, there can be little doubt that he removed to the Castle of Wallingford, the better to discharge those duties; but the king's favour was soon withdrawn, and within six months after his appointment he suffered a violent death on the scaffold. The fatal occasion that led to his execution may be briefly referred to.

On May Day, 1536, Anne Boleyn, says Miss Strickland,* "appeared for the last time in the pride and pomp of royalty, with her treacherous consort, at the jousts at Greenwich. Her brother, Viscount Rochford, was the principal challenger, and Henry Norris was one of the defenders. In the midst of the pageant, which was unusually splendid, the king rose up abruptly, and quitted the royal balcony, with a wrathful countenance, attended by six of his confidential followers. Every one was amazed, but the queen appeared especially dismayed, and presently retired.† The sports broke up, and Lord Rochford and Henry Norris were arrested at the barrier on the charge of high treason. Sir Francis Weston was taken into custody at the same time. The popular version of the cause of this public outbreak of Henry's displeasure is that the queen, either by accident or design, dropped her handkerchief from the balcony at the feet of Norris, who, being heated with the course, took it up, and presumptuously wiped his face with it. He then handed it to the queen on the point of his lance; at which Henry changed colour, started from his seat, and retired in a transport of jealous fury,‡ and gave the orders for the arrest of the queen, and all the parties who had fallen under suspicion of sharing her favours."

Throughout the trying ordeal that followed, Norris acted a noble part, subjected, as he was, to all the artifices for drawing out a confession, and with the offer of his life if he would implicate the queen. He utterly rejected the proposal, asserting that, "in his conscience he thought the queen was innocent of the things laid to her charge, and that he would die a thousand deaths rather than ruin an innocent person." On this answer being reported to the king, he cried out, "Hang him up, then! hang him up!" A trial and conviction (not very difficult of attainment in those days) ensued, and

* Vol. iv. p. 243. † Hall; Hollingshed.

‡ Sanders, repeated by most of our historians.

Norris, with several of his companions in misfortune, namely, Lord Rochford, Mark Smeaton, William Brereton, and Francis Weston, all of the king's privy chamber, were beheaded on Tower Hill.* Two days after, the queen underwent the same cruel fate.

It does not appear that any immediate appointment of a successor to the unfortunate Henry Norris in the constableship of the Castle, took place, probably owing to a contemplated dealing by the king with the Honor of Wallingford. His office of Bailiff of the manor of Ewelme was supplied by Sir Edmund Ashfield, Knight, who held the appointment during the years 1536-37. By deed dated the 9th of June, 1536, King Henry VIII. appointed the said "Edmund Ashfield to the office of Keeper of the manor of Ewelme, with the garden there, as also Keeper of the park of Ewelme, and master of the wild beasts there, with the herbage and pannage of the said park, and the browse and windfalls there; also keeper and surveyor of all the woods, etc., of the manor, and to have all fees and perquisites during his life." †

In the year 1538–39, Francis Bryan was appointed keeper of the manor, in conjunction with that of Newenham Courtney, in the same county; and in July, 1540, Ewelme was erected into an honor.‡

A.D. 1540. The ancient courts that were held of the lords of the Honor of Wallingford seem to have ceased on the attainder of John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, and were not revived during this reign; and now an Act of Parliament was passed for separating the honor from the duchy of Cornwall and uniting it to the Honor of Ewelme, or, as called in the Act, Newelme.

The Act,§ after reciting the creation of the Duke of Cornwall—the Statute of 11 Edward III., previously set out—and that forasmuch as the Honor and Castle of Wallingford hath been part of the possessions of the said dukedom, which said Honor and Castle lyeth nigh unto our sovereign lord the king's manor of Newelme, otherwise called Ewelme, in the county of

* Dugdale, "The Baronage of England," tom. ii. p. 403; Burnet's "History of the Reformation," vol. i. p. 413.

† Ministers' Accounts for Oxon and Berks, Public Record Office.

‡ Cal. Originalia Roll, p. 132.

§ Rolls of Parliament (Private Act), No. 34, 32 Henry VIII., ch. 2.

Oxford, and is very commodious, decent, and pleasant for him. In consideration whereof, etc., it is enacted that the said Honor and Castle shall from henceforth be separated from the said dukedom, and shall not in any wise hereafter be reputed or taken by the name of the Honor of Wallingford, and that the king's manor of Newelme, otherwise called Ewelme, from henceforth shall be for ever called and adjudged to be the Honor of Newelme, otherwise Ewelme. And that our said sovereign lord shall have like liberties, privileges, etc., as well in the said Honor of Newelme, otherwise Ewelme, as in the said Honor of Wallingford, and that the king shall have the said Honor of Wallingford separated from the dukedom.

Within a month after the passing of the above Act, the king, soon after his marriage to Katherine Howard, being on a progress, visited Ewelme, and held a Council there, the Lord Chamberlain of England, the Lord Great Admiral of England, the Bishop of Duresme, the Master of the Horse, Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Secretary, and Mr. Chancellor of the Augmentations, being present.

"A letter was directed to William Barington, Sir Walter Stoner, and others, for the execution of their commission of gaol delivery of the prison of Wallingford." *

It appears by an entry in the old Ledger † of the borough, that the annual dance on Hock Tuesday, which had been kept up at "sumptuous costs" from ancient times, was discontinued in consequence of the annexation of the Honor to the manor of Ewelme.

"Wallingford: The custom of a dancing day. At the Great Court holden before William Adeane, mayor there; Thomas Pollyngton and Thomas Gay, aldermen; with the assent of the whole burgesses, then there being present,—it is enacted that, whereas there been an old ancient custom to find and keep a certain dance upon Hock Tuesday within the said town, and forasmuch as the Honor of Wallingford is now called the Honor of Ewelme, it is now therefore enacted, forasmuch as the burgesses of the same town have been at sumptuous costs, in the borrowing of certain raiment for the dancers there to be occupied at the day; they have enacted

* Nicolas, "Proceedings of the Privy Council," vol. vii. p. 12.

† Page 35.

that the same dance shall be no more kept there the same day, unless there be proved hereafter that the leaving of the same dance should be any prejudice, nor minishing of their privilege, of their said town."

Riley gives the following acquittance of Parliamentary expenses, which he describes to be a paper writing, in a neat and legible hand, signed "Edward Chamberleyn," and with a piece of red wax stuck in the lowermost corner:—

"Thys bylle made the iii^{de} day of October, the xxi^{to} yere of the reigne of Kyng Henry the viiith witnessyth that for asmoche as the mayor, aldermeyne, burges, and commonaltye of the borough of Walyngford, of theire goode mynde, kyndenesse, have electyd and chosyne me, Sir Edward Chamberleyn, of Shirborne, withyn the countie of Oxon, knyghte, to be one of their burges of the Parliament, to be holden at Londone, the iii. day of November next commyng, I the seide Sir Edwarde covenaunte, and by these presents graunte, that I the seide Sir Edwarde, in consideracion, and for their love and kyndenesse to me in thys behalf sheweyde, do discharge and acquyte the same maire, aldermenne, burges, and commonaltie of the seide boroughe for my exspenses of the seide Parliament. In witnesse whereof, I the seide Sir Edwarde have sette to my seale, the day and the yere aboveseid.

"Edward Chamberleyne."

The following letter,* written in the year 1535, refers to the committal of a priest to Oxford or Wallingford Castle, for travelling about practising conjuration:—

"The Abbot of Abingdon to Secretary Cromwell.

". . . It shall please y maistership to be advertesed that my officers have taken here a Preyste, a suspecte parson, and with hym certeyn bokes of conjuracions, in the which ys conteyned many conclusions of that worke; as fyndyng out of tresure hydde, consecratyng of ryngs with stones in theym, and consecratyng of a cristal stone wheryn a chylde shall lokke, and se many thyngs. Ther is also many fygors in hyt whiche have dyuers thyngs in theym, and amongs all, one the whiche hath a swerde crossed over with a septor. I have

* Ellis's "Original Letters," vol. iii. p. 41, 3rd series, Letter 268.

sente yo^{r} maistership the boke by the berer herof, besechyng yo^{r} maistership to send me your myende what I shall do with the parson. Whether I shall send hym to Oxford Castell or Walyngford Castle, or to any other place that you wyll assigne. Yf I shall so do, I beseche yo^{r} maistership to seude some comaundement in wrytyng to the shreyffe or hys officers that they wyll reseve hym. . . . Wretyn at Abendon, the vjth day of October, at your maistership's comaundement, with my seruyce.

"Thomas, Abbas Abendonensis Monasterij.

"To the right honorabl and my very singuler good maister, Maister Crumwell, Chefe Secretary to the Kyng's Highnesse and Maister of his Rolles."

It would appear by the following letter, taken from the same series,* that some advantage was obtained by the town in reference to their fee farm, at the instance of Dr. London. In a letter from him to the Lord Privy Seal, with his survey of the friars' houses at Oxford, this passage occurs:—

". . . and forasmoche as I found y^{r} Lordeschippe gudd Lorde unto me in my suyte for my neighbors of Walynford, towchyng ther fee farm, whom I besek yow to contynew gudd Lorde, I am now the bolder to motyon yowr Lordeschippe for my neybors of Oxford, seyng so gudd an occasion ys com wherein your Lordeschippe may do unto them the hyest benefytt that ever dydd honorable man. The greatist occasion of the povertie of thys town ys the payment of ther fee farme; for thys ys customablie seen that suche as befor they have be bayliffs hath be prety occupyers, if in ther yere corn be nott at a hie price then they be nott able to pay ther fee farme. And for the worschipp of ther town they must that yere kepe the better howsys, fest ther neybors, and were better apparell, wiche makith them so pore that few of them can recouer agen.

"Dated viii. July, Oxon.

"Your most bounden orator,

"John London."

* Vol. iii. p. 214.

A.D. 1551, 4 Edward VI.

On the 7th of March, Sir Francis Knollys, Knight, was appointed for life, Constable of Wallingford Castle, Steward of the Honor of Ewelme, and Keeper of Ewelme Park, with the power to appoint the keepers.

Some reference to this family may not be out of place, considering the important positions several of them held in connection with the Castle, town, and neighbourhood.

According to Dugdale,* the first of the family of any eminence on record was the before-mentioned Robert Knollys, who acquired both reputation and riches, as a soldier, in the service of Edward III. and his son, the Black Prince, and died in 1407. In the direct line was another Robert, who was one of the Gentlemen Ushers of the Privy Chamber to Henry VIII., and became possessed, through his wife Lettice, of a lease of the manor of Rotherfield Grays (Greys), in Oxfordshire, tenable during the lives of himself and his wife. From him descended the last-named Sir Francis, who was his heir, and had a grant in fee of the lordship of Rotherfield Grays. This Sir Francis sat for the borough of Arundel in the first Parliament of Queen Elizabeth. In the next Parliament he was returned for Oxfordshire, which county he continued to represent during the remainder of his life.† He was also Custos Rotulorum of that county, and after having held the office of Treasurer of the Chamber, Captain of the Guard, Vice-Chamberlain and Treasurer of the Household,‡ he was elected § Knight of the Garter, on the 23rd of April, 1593.

Sir Francis was entrusted with the custody of Mary Queen of Scots, when a prisoner at Bolton Castle, Yorkshire, after her ill-fated arrival in England in the year 1568, but although his profession of faith was entirely opposed to hers, and his zeal for the reformed religion so great that he counselled ‖ persecution of the Romanists, and was regarded as one of the chiefs of the Puritan party, yet it is said he never

* "The Baronage of England," tom. ii. p. 412.
† Willis's "Notitia Parliamentaria."
‡ Sadler's "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 98.
§ Beltz's "Memorials of the Order of the Garter."
‖ Anderson's "Collections," vol. iv. pt. i. pp. 58, 59.

expressed himself with severity towards his prisoner, but seems to have considered her detention unjust. As a commissioner nominated for her examination and trial, he abstained from sitting as one of her judges, and although, as one of the Council, he signed, in February, 1587, the letter, enclosing the warrant, with the royal signature, for Mary's execution, addressed to the Earl of Shrewsbury, * yet we must conclude that this was a ministerial act, which the obligations of his office imposed upon him.

Shortly after his installation as Knight of the Garter, he died, at the age of 82, having had issue by his wife Katherine, daughter of William Carie, Esquire, and Lady of Queen Elizabeth's Bedchamber, sixteen children, of whom mention is made hereafter under date 1578.

In the fifth year of his reign, King Edward VI.† conveyed the manor and park of Ewelme to his sister, the Princess Elizabeth, for life.

The "Acts of Master Mayor" in this reign, recorded in the Ledger, embrace the following:—

19th May, 2 Edward VI. It was enacted at a Council that a penalty of 12*d.* should be imposed on all persons "laying dead carrion, or other vile thing, in the streets, noisome to the inhabitants, particularly at Jehan Heyse and Bell Dunghill."

17th May, 6 Edward VI. That "every inhabitant, as well as widows being able, shall find a watchman for the king's watch, when their course shall come, except the recorder, the constable, and servants, and all other poor folk as their wives shall happen to lie in, to be also discharged at the discretion of the mayor." (See Part II., under title "St. Nicholas' College and Holy Trinity," for further references to this reign.)

A.D. 1553, 1 Philip and Mary.

Although the inquisition copied below is confined to a description of the ruined remains of the college and certain houses within the Castle, it is not to be supposed that the fortress itself, was at that time otherwise than in a dilapidated condition. From the time the Castle ceased to be a residence of the princes of the blood, its consequence must have gradu-

* Tytler's "History of Scotland." † Record Office.

ally declined, and but little is mentioned in history about it, except casually, till the contest between Charles I. and his Parliament, when lines of defence were thrown up within the interior area, and the fortress then again, in some measure, partook of its former strength. Before that time, not only the Castle, but also the town, which Hearne observes, "was fortified with as much strength as art and nature could devise," had lost its pre-eminence. The inquisition represents * the former as being "in greater desolation and ruin than ever it was every manner of way," and now, in Queen Mary's reign, many of the outbuildings, which were deemed necessary adjuncts to this once noble and impregnable fortress, were stripped of many tons of lead, and of other materials, for the construction of works at Windsor Castle. It seems, from the latter paragraph in the inquisition, that the object of making so minute a survey as that document discloses, was for the purpose of ascertaining what materials were procurable from the outbuildings for this purpose; but as the survey embraced only the gate-house, collegiate church, and the keep, it is not unlikely that the Castle itself was then intended to be preserved entire. However this may be, the despoiler's hand was not extended to the fortress, and, possibly owing to the short reign of Queen Mary, the work of demolition of the outbuildings for the sake of the materials was not so complete as it would have been had the royal power been of longer duration.

"15th August, 1555, 2 and 3 Philip and Mary. Inquisition. Copy certificate by John Purdon, Nicholas Pain, and Thomas Hurst, carpenters, of all such timber and stone as remained of any of the houses within the Castle of Wallingford, not then demolished:—

"First, a long entry or gate-house going into the inner ward, called 'The Lieutenant's Lodging,' built with timber, and covered with tiles, containing in length 40 feet, in breadth 16 feet, and one floor in the same, having 36 great joysts of 16½ feet long and six inches square on one side and nine on the other.

"There is also the body of the collegiate church, containing in length 60 feet, in breadth 30 feet, having a steep roof

* "Notes to Roper's Life of Sir Thomas More."

of timber covered with tiles, built with malm and freestone, with two windows still left with bars of iron.

"There is also a fair square tower or steeple adjoining unto the said church, wherein the bells did hang, containing square on every side 25 feet, built with very good freestone, having within the same three floors, and one flat roof in the top of good oak, containing square 19 feet, not as yet defaced or pulled down, having in it four windows with bars of iron.

"Also entering up the stairs into the keep, there is a great door with bars of iron, and on the same stairs, the lead being taken away, there remaineth timber good and bad of sixty joists, containing in length eight feet, and nine inches square one way and the other.

"Also at the upper end of the same stairs, one other great door with great iron bars, and a porch adjoining to the same, having a floor in it of nine joists, containing in length eight feet ten inches, and six or eight inches square.

"Also in the kitchen in the same keep, two windows with bars of iron, and two rooms, with a chamber over the same; two doors with iron hinges, and five iron-barred windows; of joists in both these rooms, 47 of ten feet in length, and square six and eight inches.

"Also two dungeons or prisons within the same keep, having three windows with bars of iron, three great doors with bars of iron and a lock, four great hasps of iron with staples of the same, having a floor with 60 joists, 19 feet in length, and eight inches square.

"Also the great chamber, and privy chamber, with four very great iron-barred windows, having a flat roof over the same of timber, with 59 joists, of 19 feet long, and eight and ten inches square.

"Also in the *keep itself* with long and winding stairs. . . . The walls of two wards, and two gate-houses are built of malm and freestone. And for the buildings of the king and queen's majesties, much good stone will be of the same."

The accounts of the corporation of Windsor show the appropriation of the large quantity of lead that was taken from Wallingford Castle. It was used for making pipes for the supply of water to Windsor Castle. Here are a few of the items, extracted out of the third book of charges, of the third

conduit, from the 23rd of June, 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, to the 22nd of December following: "Labourers, taking down the lead at Wallingford Castle, 7*d.* per diem." "The lead that came from Wallingford weighed 10 tons 15 lbs." "This lead was employed in making water-pipes at Windsor." "On Wednesday the 9th of October was the pipe brought up into the middle of the court, where the receipt of the water shall be, and then the water plenteously did run 13 foot high." *

It would also appear that some of the materials used in the erection of the dwellings for the poor knights, on the south side of the lower ward of Windsor Castle, the construction of which was directed by the will of Henry VIII., were brought from Wallingford Castle; and that much of the stonework for the building was fetched from Reading Abbey by water.

The following entries also appear:—"Reading and Wallingford—Carpenters, viewing the roofes at Reading and Wallingford, by the day, 12*d.*"

"Reading—Masons, taking downe the greate stones of the dores and windowes of the chappell of our Lady there, by the day, 12*d.*"

"Reading—Labourers digging of Caen stone out of the windowes for the battlements in the new lodgings, per diem, 7*d.*"

(See Part II. for further particulars respecting the collegiate church referred to in the inquisition.)

A.D. 1557–58. Towards the close of Mary's reign, letters patent were granted, ratifying the previous charters granted to the borough. The following is a translation:—

"Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, etc.;—We have inspected the letters patent of confirmation of the Lord H., formerly King of England, our progenitor, made in these words: 'Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom these present letters shall come, greeting;—We have inspected the letters patent of our most dear lord and father the king deceased, made in these words: "Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom

* "Annals of Windsor," vol. i. p. 601 *n.*

these present letters shall come, greeting;—We have inspected the letters patent of the Lord E., late King of England, our grandfather, made in these words: 'Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitain, to archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, reeves, ministers, and all other his bailiffs and faithful people, greeting;—We have inspected the charter of confirmation of the Lord H. of famous memory, formerly King of England, our great-grandfather, in these words: "Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitain, to archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, reeves, ministers, and all his bailiffs and faithful people, greeting;—We have inspected the charter which Henry of good memory, formerly King of England, our grandfather, made to the burgesses of Wallingford, in these words: [here follows a full recital of the charter of King Henry II., set out *ante*, vol. i. p. 269, and of the confirmation and enlargement of that charter by Henry III., *ante*, vol. i. p. 326.] And we also ratifying and approving the gifts and grants aforesaid, do for us and our heirs, as much in us is, grant and confirm the same to our beloved the now burgesses of the borough aforesaid, and to their heirs and successors, burgesses of the same borough, as the charter aforesaid doth reasonably testify, and as they and their ancestors and predecessors, burgesses of the said borough, the liberties aforesaid have hitherto reasonably used and enjoyed. These being witnesses: the venerable fathers, R., Bishop of Durham, our Chancellor, H., Bishop of Lincoln, our Treasurer, John, Earl of Cornwall, our dearest brother, Robert of Ufford, Ralph de Nevill, Steward of our Household, and others. Given under our hand, at Clipston, the 19th day of April, in the ninth year of our reign." And we also ratifying and approving the gift, grants, and confirmations aforesaid, do and for us our heirs, as much as in us is, accept and approve the same, and do by the tenor of these presents, grant and confirm the same to the now burgesses of the borough aforesaid, and their heirs and successors, burgesses of the same borough, as the letters and charters aforesaid do reasonably testify, and as the same burgesses and their ancestors and predecessors, burgesses of the said borough, the liberties aforesaid hitherto have reasonably used and enjoyed. In witness whereof, we have

caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 10th day of February, in the first year of our reign.' We also ratifying and approving the gifts, grants, and confirmations aforesaid, unrevoked, do by the assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, being in our Parliament lately held at Westminster, accept and approve the same, and to the now burgesses of the borough aforesaid and their heirs and successors, burgesses of the same borough, do by the tenor of these presents confirm the same as the letters and charter aforesaid do reasonably testify, and as the same burgesses and their ancestors and predecessors, burgesses of the said borough, the liberties aforesaid have hitherto reasonably used and enjoyed. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 28th day of February, in the third year of our reign." We have inspected also the letters patent of the Lord H., formerly King of England, grandfather of us the aforesaid queen, made to his well-beloved lieges, the mayor, burgesses, and inhabitants of the town of Wallingford, in these words: [here follows a recital of the charter of Henry VII., *ante*, vol. ii. p. 72].' We also ratifying and approving the gift, grants, and confirmations aforesaid, do for us and our heirs, as much as in us is, accept, approve, and ratify the same to the now burgesses of the borough aforesaid and their heirs and successors, burgesses of the same borough, as the letters and charters aforesaid do reasonably testify, and as the same burgesses and their ancestors and predecessors of the same borough the liberties aforesaid have hitherto reasonably used and enjoyed. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourselves at Westminster, the 27th day of May, in the fourth and fifth years of our reign.

"P. Cordell.

"For sixty-six shillings and eight pence, paid to us in the Hanaper.

"The price is taxed at £3 6*s.* 8*d.*

"Nico. Ebor. Canc."

In this reign an Act was passed by the mayor in the usual way, which restrained the taking in of under-tenants. It recites that, in consequence of the burden arising from under-

tenants in the town, in breaking of hedges, etc., a restriction on their admission into the houses was necessary to be imposed, and it enacts that no one is to be so admitted, unless he be a person of good reputation, and pay the same dues as the owners of the houses.

A renewal of the above ordinance took place at a court held on the 14th of January, 1556, with the addition that all under-tenants not of good character should be ordered to leave the houses, and a power of ejectment in such cases is given.

A.D. 1558, 1 Queen Elizabeth.

A further quantity of lead was taken from the Castle, as appears by State papers, and a warrant* was issued for allowance to Sir Francis Knowles (Knollys), the constable, "for lead delivered by him out of the store at Wallingford Castle, for repairs of Windsor Castle." †

A.D. 1560. Injunctions were issued by the queen for the better regulation of the inferior clergy, for keeping good order in the church, and for the proper observance of Sundays. The archbishop and bishops drew up and published, in the year 1561, their interpretations of these injunctions, which amounted to a declaration "that on Sunday there be no shops open, nor artificers going about their affairs worldly, and that all fairs and common marts, falling upon the Sunday, there be no showing of any wares before the service be done." The interpretation put by the bishops upon the sixteenth injunction, as to the proper observance of Sundays is as follows:—"That incorrigible Arians, Pelagians, or Free-will-men, be sent into some one castle in North Wales or Wallingford,‡ and there to live of their own labour and exercise; and none other be suffered to resort unto them but their keepers, until they be found to repent their errors."

In the late ecclesiastical case of Ridsdale *v.* Clifton, the legal effect of these injunctions at the present day is referred to in the argument of counsel (see "Law Times Reports," N.S.). § Thus we see how different was the class of offenders,

* Docquet, Nov. 10. † Lemon, p. 113,
‡ Strype's "Annals of the Reformation," p. 319.
§ Vol. xxxvi. p. 867.

for which the Castle prisons were designed in Elizabeth's reign. The noble fortress, that had received in stately captivity, kings and princes and many of the mighty of the land, had now degenerated into an instrument of coercion, to force the consciences of those who entertained opinions not consistent with the tenets promulgated by the State; as if a knowledge of the truth was to be gained by such compulsory measures, and the imbecility of the human mind strengthened to an appreciation of what is right by long incarceration in the dismal dungeons of a prison.

A.D. 1567. At a Great Court held by the mayor and others, it was ordered that no person should allow Richard Jest to live in the town, under pain of forfeiting £5. The reason is not stated.

Among the items of expenditure in "The Paye-book" of the queen's progresses, preserved at the Bodleian Library, are the following, relating to a visit the queen paid to the town of Newbury:—Carpenters employed to fit up presses for the robes and other necessaries, 1*s.* a day; sand for sprinkling over the streets is charged 10*d.* the load; 3*s.* 9*d.* is the sum put down for carriage of the tent and the court baggage from Wallingford to Newbury; total charges amounting to £4 19*s.* 5*d.*

A.D. 1569. The great conflict between the Protestant and Catholic religions, and particularly the claim which Mary Queen of Scots advanced to the crown of England, led to the active interposition of Queen Elizabeth in Scotch affairs, which rendered necessary a considerable reinforcement of the English army. The hundred of Moreton and the town of Wallingford contributed their share to the musters of able men, and with the country generally showed great willingness to aid their queen. In the month of July, 1569, Sir Edward Unton and other commissioners of musters for the county of Berks,* reported to the Council their doings, and enclosed a certificate of general musters in the hundred and town, and elsewhere in the county. The official correspondence† between Sir Henry Nevill and Sir Thomas Parry, in the months of May and July in the following year, refers

* Vol. lxiv., Musters, No. 7.

† "Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series," by Lemon.

particularly to the musters of selected soldiers furnished with transport in the above districts. In Reading were mustered one thousand good men, "besides other rascalls," and in Newbury fifteen hundred. The appointment of captains took place in May, 1560, and attention is drawn to the great want of armour.

The wealthy family of the Dunches, who were for a long series of years connected with Wallingford, resided at the manor-house (since pulled down) in the neighbouring parish of Little Wittenham. Four members of the family represented the borough in Parliament; the first return is recorded in 1562, being the fourth year of this reign, and the political connection continued at intervals, down to the time of George I. A descendant of the family, Edmund Dunch, is said to have been made Governor of Wallingford Castle, by his cousin, the Protector; he was created a baronet, and in 1658 (the year Cromwell died) was called to the Upper House by the title of Baron Burnell, a title of which he was deprived at the Restoration. He died in 1678. His appointment to the keepership of the Castle was probably after the demolition of the fortress in 1652, at which time Colonel Blagge, the then governor, surrendered it to Adjutant, after Major, the Honourable Arthur Evelyn, who was appointed governor for the Parliament. No mention is made of Sir Edmund Dunch, in the Order of Council for its demolition. It is likely, therefore, he succeeded for a short time to a sinecure, or to an office with but little employment attached to it, which was afterwards kept alive during several reigns.

Moule, in his "History of English Counties," * thus refers to this family: "William Dunch was M.P. for Wallingford in 1562; he was the progenitor of a wealthy family, remarkable for their tergiversation in politics. Sir William Dunch, his descendant, uncle by marriage to Oliver Cromwell, was also M.P. for Wallingford, and died in 1612; his eldest son was M.P. for Wallingford, in the reign of Charles I., and was a strenuous supporter of his relative the Protector, from whom he received a patent of peerage, April, 1658, by the title of Lord Burnell, of East Wittenham, and the appointment of Governor of Wallingford Castle; he took an active part in the restoration of King Charles II. His grandson, Edmund

* Vol. ii. p. 11.

Dunch, joined heartily in the Revolution, and was Master of the Household to both Queen Anne and George I.; he was also M.P. for Wallingford, and a member of the celebrated Kit-cat Club. He died in 1719." On his death the family became extinct.*

There are several monuments to the memory of the Dunches, in a chapel attached to the parish church of Little Wittenham; that to Sir William Dunch is of marble and alabaster, with the effigies of Sir William in armour, and that of his lady. The author of a pamphlet entitled, "The Mysteries of the Good Old Cause," published in 1660, speaking of Baron Burnell, says, "He was the husband of that fine Mrs. Dunch, was a great favourite with the Protector, and had a patent to be lord of the Lord knows what, and how little he deserves it."

Although we read of the "Doyleys of Wallingford Castle," it does not appear that any member of the family was officially connected with the fortress subsequent to the death of Robert Doyley, in 1090. As owners of property in the town, the connection continued apparently in the direct line of descendants. In 1601, Henry Doyley, barrister-at-law, who had attained eminence in his profession, was elected M.P. for Wallingford, and sat for it in Parliament during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign.† The larger possessions of the family appear to have been situate in the neighbouring county of Oxford; Stadhampton House, the favourite abode of our former recorder, Charles Peers, Esquire, was the family residence.

In the fatal year of 1577, Sir Robert Doyley was high sheriff of that county, and fell a victim, with many others, to the malignant disease that broke out in the Assize Court at Oxford, in the year mentioned.

Upon a tablet lately erected in the precincts of the County Hall, is the following inscription, written by the clerk of the peace, John Mariott Davenport, Esquire, to whom we are indebted for several publications of considerable historical interest in connection with the county, which he has liberally presented to the magistracy, and others:—

* Lysons, "Berks," p. 440.

† Willis, "Notitia Parliamentaria," p. 146.

Near this Spot stood the ancient

Shire Hall,

unhappily famous in History as the Scene, in
July, 1577,
of the Black Assize,
when a malignant disease, known as the Gaol Fever,
caused the death, within forty days, of
The Lord Chief Baron (Sir Robert Bell),
The High Sheriff (Sir Robert D'Oyley
of Merton,)
and about three hundred more.

The Malady, from the stench of the Prisoners, developed itself during the Trial of one Rowland Jenkes, 'a saucy, foul-mouthed Bookseller,' for scandalous words uttered against the Queen.

Anno 1875.
J. M. D.
pie posuit.

The Knollys Family—continued.

A.D. 1578. As before observed (4 Edward VI.), there was issue of the marriage of Sir Francis Knollys and Katherine his wife sixteen children :—

The eldest son, Henry, was appointed on the 4th of April, 1578, Constable of the Castle and manor of Wallingford, and Keeper of Ewelme Park, with the other offices which were granted to his father for life. In the queen's third Parliament, this Henry represented the borough of Reading; and, conjointly with his father, the county of Oxford in the queen's fourth Parliament, which began on the 8th day of May, 1572. He was esquire of the body-guard of Queen Elizabeth, and died in December, 1582.

The second son of Sir Francis was William, afterwards Viscount Wallingford and Earl of Banbury, who, on the 20th of June, 1584, was appointed Keeper of Ewelme Park, with other offices,* for life. In 1596, he was made Comptroller of

* Land Revenue Record Office; Napier, p. 209.

the Household to the queen.* In 1600, he became Treasurer of the Household, and in 1601,† Keeper of Wallingford Castle and manor, at the fee of £50 by the year. In the month of September in the same year, Queen Elizabeth, while she "abode at Reading, went one day to dinner to Mr. Comptroller's (Sir William Knollys), at Caversham. Mr. Green, Sheriff of Oxfordshire, met her at the bridge, very well accompanied. Mr. Comptroller made great cheer, and entertained her with many devices of singing, dancing, and playing wenches, and such like. At her going thence she made three knights, Sir Francis Goodwin, Sir Edward Fettiplace, and Sir Richard Warder." ‡ The monastery at Reading was turned at the Dissolution into a royal palace, and here probably the queen stayed during her visits to that town, of which four are recorded. In the month of May in the following year, the queen was again feasted by the Comptroller, in London,§ and on the 13th of May, 1603 (1 James I.), he was created Baron of Rotherfield Grays.

On the 19th of January, 1606, eleven weeks after the death of his first wife, Dorothy, who was daughter of Edmund, Lord Bray, widow of Edmund, Lord Chandos, who died without issue,—Lord Knollys, he being then upwards of sixty-one years of age, married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, the bride being his junior by thirty-eight years. In April, 1616, he was elected Knight of the Garter. On the 7th of November following (14 James I.) he was raised to the dignity of Viscount Wallingford, the ceremony taking place in the gallery of Whitehall, in the presence of the king, queen, and prince.|| An annuity of £2000, out of the Court of Wards, was conferred on him for life, on his taking the Mastership; on which occasion he resigned the Comptrollership in favour

* Camden's "Elizabeth."

† It is probable the keepership of Wallingford Castle was conferred on Sir William in 1584, as successor of his brother Henry, who died in 1582. The grant, in Latin, in the Public Record Office, apparently dated 1601, is much damaged, and may have been a confirmation, with the addition of the annual fee. There is no express appointment in the grant, which recites "that William Knollys was the reversioner after Sir Francis, Henry Knollys a former reversioner being dead."

‡ "Queen Elizabeth's Progresses," vol. ii. p. 19.

§ Ibid., vol. ii. p. 12.

|| "Court and Times of James I.," vol. i. p. 436.

of Sir Thomas Edmondes. In 1621, he was appointed high steward of this borough. Charles I., on the 18th of August, 1626, conferred on Lord Wallingford the title of Earl of Banbury, and gave him a patent of precedence over certain peers whose patents were of earlier creation. The legality of the patent was called in question in Parliament, and referred to the Committee of Privileges, who, through the Earl Marshall, reported that the precedence granted to the Earl of Banbury was directly contrary to the Statute of 31 Henry VIII. The matter, however, was afterwards accommodated, and the earl was allowed to enjoy his patent of precedence for life, the king having sent to the House a gracious message, signifying his Majesty's desire that the earl, "being old and childless, might enjoy it during his time, and promising never hereafter to occasion the like dispute." * The earl died on the 25th of May, 1632, aged eighty-eight years, and as it would appear from the certificate of his widow and the *post-mortem* inquisition, he had no issue by either wife.

Elizabeth his widow † married Nicholas, Lord Vaux, and had two sons, namely, Edward, who was slain in battle near Calais; and Nicholas, who was frequently called Earl of Banbury, although never summoned to Parliament. It is said in Burke's "Commoners of Great Britain," ‡ that although the earl died without legitimate issue, yet two sons named Edward and *Thomas* (? Nicholas), born in his lifetime, were presumed to have been the issue of his lordship; to them he devised his estates, and through their descendants arose the celebrated contest for the Banbury peerage.

The third son, Edward, appears to be the same person who sat in Queen Elizabeth's third Parliament as member for the city of Oxford, and who, on his death, in 1580, was succeeded by his brother Francis.

Robert Knollys was the fourth son, and having been returned in the queen's seventh Parliament both as a knight for the county of Brecknock and also as one of the burgesses for the town of Reading, where it is said he sat for the three preceding Parliaments, he elected to sit for the county, and a warrant § was directed to the Clerk of the Crown, to issue

* "Romance of the Peerage," vol. i. pp. 347-48; Lords' Journals.

† Dugdale, "The Baronage of England." ‡ Vol. ii. p. 442.

§ D'Ewes's "Journals," p. 430.

a writ to the burgesses of Reading, to choose another representative.

The next son, Richard, of Stanford, in the vale of Berks, represented Wallingford in the queen's fifth Parliament, which ended on the 14th of September, * 1586, and three days afterwards his father, Sir Francis, addressed the following letter, copied from the original, to the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough, recommending his son for re-election as one of their representatives:—

"To my verie lovinge frends, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of Wallingforde, geve these;—

"After my hartie comendacions, whereas her Ma^tie hathe by her proclamacion dyssolved this last parlyament, and intendethe presentlie to sumon A newe parliament, by reason of w^ch dyssolucon ye are to choose newlie Burgesses for the same, my request therefore unto you ys that you will grant me the nomynacion of one of your Burgesses for my Soonne, Rycharde Knollys, w^ch curtesie I shall thankfullie take at your handes, and be readie to requyte the same as occacion shall serve.

"So I byd you hartelie farewell; from the Tower of London, the xvij^th of September, 1586.

"Your lovinge frende,

"F. Knollys."

No reference to this letter appears in the minute-book of the corporation; but we find that Richard Knollys was again returned as member for the borough for the next Parliament, which met on the 29th of October in that year. He died in 1596, leaving issue two sons, Henry and Robert, the latter of whom was knighted in the year 1612, and sat for Abingdon in the second and for Wallingford in the third Parliament of King Charles I. This Sir Robert acquired the manor of Rotherfield Grays, by purchase from his uncle, the Earl of Banbury, in 1631.†

The sixth son, Francis, was also created a knight, and sat as member for the city of Oxford during the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh Parliaments, and for the county of Berks in the ninth Parliament of Elizabeth.

* Willis, "Notitia Parliamentaria." † Napier, p. 372.

The seventh son was Sir Thomas Knollys, Knight, a commander in the Low Countries.

Of the daughters: Lettice married, first, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, the issue of the marriage being Robert, Earl of Essex, the well-known favourite of Queen Elizabeth, who was beheaded in the Tower, on the 25th of February, 1601. Her second husband was Robert, Earl of Leicester, who died at Cornbury, in Oxfordshire, in September, 1588. Within a year his widow married, thirdly, Sir Christopher Blunt, who was beheaded on Tower Hill.

Elizabeth, the second daughter, was Maid of Honour to Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards the wife of Sir Thomas Leighton, Governor of Guernsey.

The third daughter, Katherine, married, first, Gerald, Lord Offaley, eldest son of Gerald, Earl of Kildare. She married, secondly, Sir Philip Boteler, of Watton Woodhall, in the county of Hertford.

Anne, the fourth daughter, was the wife of Thomas, Lord La Warr.*

Associated in the representation of the borough with the above-named Richard Knollys in the year 1586, and with Michael Molyns in the Parliament of 1588, was Thomas Stampe, Esquire, an ancestor of Henry Stampe, who was son of Isabel, the daughter of Sir Michael Molyns, of Clapcote, Knight, and a tablet to whose memory is affixed to the north wall of St. Mary's Church, in Wallingford.

A.D. 1588. Walter Bennett was appointed to the Bailiwick of the manor and Castle of Wallingford for life.†

A.D. 1599. On the 3rd of March, the Right Honourable Sir John Fortescue, Knight, was elected High Steward of the borough of Wallingford, to enjoy the same office immediately after the decease of Lord Norris, then high steward for life.

It is said few ministers ever held so many offices at the same time as Sir John Fortescue. He was Master of the Great Wardrobe, Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Privy Councillor.

A.D. 1601, 43 Queen Elizabeth. In the commission of the

* Abridged principally from Napier's "Swyncombe."

† Leman's "Calendar," vol. i. p. 167.

peace for the county of Berks in this year, appear the following names of persons resident in this neighbourhood:—

Sir Michael Molyns, Clapcote; Edmund Dunche, Wittenham; Henry Sambourn, Moulsford; Thomas Rich; John Payn, Wallingford; Thomas Stampe, Cholsey; Cowper, Blewbury.

The catalogue of noblemen and gentlemen in the commission of the peace for Berkshire in the above year, comprises ninety names only; and Fuller, in his "Worthies," referring to this fact, complains that the gentry in Berks, sown thick in former, come up thin in latter ages, and in taking leave of the county, he expresses a wish that they may be better settled in their saddles, so that the sweet places in the county may not be subject to so many mutations. A similar complaint and similar wish may, with still more reason, says Mr. Clarke, "be made at the present day (1824). Few families have possessed estates in Berkshire for many generations, and of the ninety enumerated in the above list, three only remain, after a lapse of little more than two centuries, at their ancient residences." The three families referred to were probably the Eystons of Hendred, Puseys of Pusey, and the Pleydells of Shrivenham. The roll for the county of Berks at the present time gives the number of magistrates as 165.

Among the list of gentlemen who compounded for their estates during the usurpation, is the name of Edward Sawyer Dudcote, for £91.*

The Ledger of the corporation contains a long record of the transactions of the municipal body during this reign. We give the following as most noteworthy. The entries relating more particularly to the constitution of the corporation and the guild, are introduced hereafter under those heads.

14th February, 1560, 2 Elizabeth. Orders were made by the mayor, at the "Great Court," to prevent hogs being kept in the streets of the town.

Also to prevent any person keeping a tippling-house besides those who were admitted and bound by the justices according to the Statute; and to prevent tipplers from brewing within their houses.

At the same court, Richard Hassard, Alborn Rusden, and

* "Parochial Topography of the Hundred of Wanting," by W. N. Clarke, of Ardington.

John Wrigg, were admitted to be searchers of dogs and hand-guns.

A.D. 1563. In an order respecting the markets, the corporation agreed to give up their tolls on corn and other wares, live or dead, sold in the market on Fridays, and to allow the sale prices to be fixed by the buyers and sellers. They also agreed to lend a sum of money for the benefit of the market for three months, and factors were appointed to administer the money. In the following month of October, the inhabitants were forbidden to buy victuals coming towards the market on market days, "till it comes to the market-place," or to buy to sell again.

A.D. 1564. Rules were prescribed as to the occupation of King's Mead, of which the lease to the corporation had been renewed by the Crown. Sundry persons were named as under-tenants, and an order was made that neither the mayor nor the aldermen were to have more than three acres, nor the burgesses more than two acres each—a regulation evidently made to help the poorer classes. The signatures attached to these rules, mostly by oddly shaped marks, do not exhibit much advance in the art of writing.

It was ordered that the price of beer and bread should be regulated by that of Reading.

A minute records the fact that Master Mayor had given commandment to the inhabitants to rid the streets of their wood and timber, and to make clean the streets before their houses, within twelve days, on pain of a fine of 6*s.* 8*d.*

A.D. 1586, 28 Elizabeth. An ordinance was passed by the court that all inhabitants dwelling in any of the inhabitable streets of the borough should, on Saturday every week, cleanse the streets before their houses, under penalty; such penalties were to be collected and paid to the mayor for the time being, to be by him given to the poor of the borough, or otherwise distributed at his discretion.

On the 17th of September, 1588, the first notice occurs of "Frankpledge" of the borough.

It was ordered at a court, that [for] every cow sent into the Kennycroft (called Canecroft, in a deed, 10 Edward II.), by the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, and all other persons having a right to send, they do send and spread one load of good dung or soil.

A series of bye-laws ("Acts") was adopted at the court held in the Guildhall, in 1597, which in the margin are explained to be "Disposition of Benevolences." They may be thus summarized, omitting those which refer more particularly to the corporate body—

On every law day presentments to be made by foreigners' jury by three o'clock, and by freemen's jury by five o'clock.

Every lease of town and bridge land to be granted by the majority of the aldermen and burgesses.

Leases in reversion to be granted, if former lease be expired, within ten years, not otherwise.

No lease of borough or bridge property to be granted, except to the mayor or one of the aldermen or burgesses, or except to the poor of the borough for habitation.

The mayor, aldermen, and burgesses not to grant a lease of more than one tenement to one person, except under the value of 5*s*.

No lease to be made for longer than twenty years, except in consideration of "great buildings" made or to be made.

No tenement to be built on town land except by consent.

No money already given or to be hereafter given to the borough, to be accepted by indenture from any person or persons whatsoever, unless it be according to the will of the giver or testator. And the same money not to be disposed of or put forth to any but to the company of the corporation, and that not above the sum of £10 to any one man, and that not for above the space of one whole year, except the will of such testator as shall give the same do otherwise appoint; and it was ordered that in like manner all such stocks and sums of money already raised or hereafter to be raised to the use of the said corporation, be disposed of as aforesaid.

The charter of Queen Elizabeth, relating to the great bridge, will be found in a subsequent page.

A.D. 1603, 1 James I.

Sir William Knollys, whose patent of creation as Baron of Grays is dated this year, continued to hold the office of Constable of Wallingford Castle, and steward of the Honor. In the exercise of his office, says Lipscomb,* "he granted to divers persons the ancient privileges and immunities of

* "History of Bucks."

tenants of the honor, by special instruments under seal, reciting his title, as Treasurer of the King's Household, Privy Councillor, and High Constable of the Castle of Wallingford and St. Wallerie, and the letters patent of Henry III., granting to Edward, Earl of Cornwall, and all men tenants and residents in the Honor of Wallingford and St. Wallerie, acquittance as before mentioned from pannage, etc., and from summons, attachment or execution by any other minister of the king, his heirs and successors, by writ or without, in the liberties of the said honor."

This Honor or lordship of Wallingford, which continued in the Crown, was assigned by King James I. to his queen as part of her dowry, as it was afterwards to his son, Prince Charles.

By grant dated the 28th of May, Richard Blunden and Thomas Adams were appointed to the offices of Bailiff and Collector of rents, proceeds, etc., of the Castle and manor of Wallingford, and feodaries of the Castle and domain thereof, and also of all the proceeds of the Honor of Ewelme, with a salary of £10 a year.* On the 18th of July, 1606, the same offices were by letters patent conferred on Evan Wheeler, gent., and Thomas Adams, "conjointly and separately, in as ample a mode and form as Richard Blunden and the said Thomas Addams formerly held the same." †

These letters were to be enrolled without any fee to be paid in the Hanaper; and there is an endorsement thereon of a memorandum of the difference between the present and a previous patent of the Honor of Ewelme.

"11th of January, 1609. In a survey of Ewelme Manor, it is stated, that Lord William Knollys was then keeper of the park, and master of the wild beasts in the same, in which park there was a house or lodge in good repair, and that the same park contained in circuit 3000 paces. Also that the capital mansion of Ewelme was completely ruined and in decay." ‡

In this year, Sir Thomas Howard, Knight, second son of the Earl of Suffolk, and his younger brother Charles Howard, were appointed for life to the reversionary office of Constable and Steward of the Castle and manor of Wallingford, and of the keeping of his majesty's Manor and

* Green, "Calendar of State Papers," Domestic Series, Addenda, p. 425.
† "Domestic Papers," vol. xxii. No. 60. ‡ Napier, p. 212.

park of Ewelme, and master of the game of the said park, with several fees and allowances, amounting to the sum of £50 0*s.* 9*d.* by the year, after the death or surrender of Lord Knollys.*

A.D. 1610. At a Court of Common Council held this year, several ordinances ("Acts") were passed, the object being—

To prevent the assignment of apprentices, without the licence of the mayor and two aldermen, and to compel the enrolment of the indenture with the steward of the borough on application to the recorder. Judging from the great number of indentures in the corporation chest, this ordinance must have been rigidly observed.

To regulate the disposition of the money given to the poor.

To enable freemen, unable through poverty to keep their apprentices, to report the case to the mayor.

To order that all writings in any way concerning the borough should be drawn up by the steward and recorder, or his clerk.

To enforce the reparation of houses next the street, within one month after warning.

To prevent any person from taking an inmate [lodger] into his house without authority, on pain of 6*s.* 8*d.*

To compel butchers to clean their stalls every Saturday night.

On the 7th of November, 1616, Lord Knollys, then Comptroller, was advanced, as before stated, to the title of Viscount Wallingford, "notwithstanding the Honor of Wallingford belonged to the duchy of Cornwall." †

The following extracts from official correspondence appear to show why the dignity was conferred, and suggest a doubt whether his lordship continued to retain the entire confidence of the king.

12th October, 1616. "Sir Thomas Edmondes (Ambassador at Paris) shall come over hither shortly, and Lord Knollys is in speech to be made a viscount, now at the prince's creation, and so make room for him to be Comptroller, there being nothing else loose to confer upon him; and yet, methinks, that is no very convenient place in respect of his stature."‡

* "Calendar of State Papers," Lemon; Docquet.

† Camden's "Annals."

‡ "Court and Times of James I.," vol. i. p. 426.

14th November, 1616. "Viscount Wallingford is willing to make room for Sir Thomas Edmondes's advancement to be Comptroller, having, besides the dignity now conferred upon him, £2000 a year during life out of the Court of Wards, or the best ward (saving noblemen) that falls every year, at his own choice. So that the king is the only gainer by these bargains, except his lady, whose ambition, they say, it was to have him a viscount, that she might have place of certain ladies, but specially of the Lady Fenton, whom she did most aim at." *

19th November, 1616. "The resolution for my Lord Wotton's retirement is altered into the promotion to follow my Lord Knollys into the Treasurership of the Household. Sir Thomas Edmondes succeeds him in the Comptrollership, and the Lord Knollys to content himself with the Mastership of the Wards, and his new title."†

On the 1st of January, 1618, Lord Wallingford was a witness when "George Villiers, Earl of Buckingham, was created Marquis of Buckingham, to him and his male heirs of his body, beyond all expectation, without any investiture, by letters patent, delivered into his hand." ‡

20th October, 1618. "There is treating at the Lord Knollys' also; but he resolves stoutly to stand upon his own just position, and hath directly told the marquis (Buckingham) as much; putting him in mind, further, that these precedents may one day prove leading cases to himself." §

19th December, 1618. London. The Lord Chamberlain ‖ to Secretary Carleton. After stating that night funerals are in fashion, with coaches and torches, it is added, "The Countess of Salisbury had a feast and play, though the house was in trouble about a libel that condemns all their faction. The author is not found out, but Lady Wallingford was the first heard to sing it. A counter-libel is talked of." We gather from "Romance of the Peerage," ¶ that the king intended himself to find out the author of the "lewd libel," and, referring to the cross libel spoken of, "that the Lady of

* "Court and Times of James I.," p. 438. † Ibid., p. 440.
‡ Camden's "Annals."
§ "Court and Times of James I.," vol. ii. p. 92.
‖ "Calendar of State Papers," sub ann., Lemon.
¶ Vol. i. p. 345.

Wallingford and all hers were to be paid in the same coin." What the issue was is not explained.

16th January, 1619. "The day that the king departed from hence, he sent Sir Lionel Cranfield to the Lord Knollys, or Wallingford, for his patent of the Mastership of the Wards, which he delivered and surrendered to him, and it is said to be bestowed on him." *

The Earl of Suffolk, mentioned in the following letter, whose second son, Thomas, first Earl of Berkshire, was high steward of the borough, belonged to the family of the Howards. He was advanced to the earldom in the month of May, 1603, shortly afterwards appointed Lord Chamberlain, and on the 10th of July, 1614, Lord Treasurer of the Household. As Lord Chamberlain, he made the search at the House of Parliament, which led to the apprehension of Faux, and the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. He seems to have been chiefly known, as a minister, by the malpractices which were laid to his charge, and in which Lady Suffolk is said to have taken an active part. This will explain the accusation in the letter, which was first made against them in July, 1618. After a tedious process of inquiry and trial, the earl and countess were convicted on the 13th of November, 1619, fined £30,000, and to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure. Strange as it may seem, the earl, and I presume the countess also, obtained their liberty, upon certain conditions, at the end of a week, and on the 28th of January, 1620, only about two months after the liberation, the earl was received into the royal favour, as were also his sons, and in July following kissed the king's hand; the fine of £30,000 having been previously remitted to £7000. The conclusion we are led to arrive at is that the more serious charges were not supportable, and that unworthy motives led to the prosecution. Wilson speaks of the earl as a man of noble disposition, though too indulgent to his too active wife, whose faults and corruptions were imputed to him. His death occurred near Charing Cross, now the site of Suffolk Street, on the 28th of May, 1626.†

* "Court and Times of James I.," vol. ii. p. 125.

† Authorities: Camden's "Annals;" "Court and Times of James I.;" Ellis's "Letters Illustrative of English History;" Wilson's "James I."

30th January, 1619. The Lord Chamberlain to Secretary Carleton—

"At the commencement of this year, the Earl of Suffolk and his lady were charged with extortion, oppression, bribery, false dealing, embezzlement of the king's jewels, etc. . . .

"The Lord of Wallingford is retired into the country, but was not sent empty away; for besides the fee farm rent of Ewelme Park, he hath somewhat also in consideration; and when he delivered up his patent, the king told him that, having been long a servant of Queen Elizabeth and him, he was loath to remove him, neither would accuse him of negligence, insufficiency, or corruption; but only he had one fault, common to him, with divers others of his friends and followers, which could not stand with his service, nor of the State—that he was altogether guided and governed by an arch wife."

In a letter four years afterwards to Sir D. Carleton, it is stated that Ladies Isabella Smythe, Wharton, Hatton, and Wallingford, are coming to the Hague to see the Queen of Bohemia, on their way to the Spa. Lady Wallingford is mentioned as an unfitting guest, from her disaffection in religion, and other circumstances. In a subsequent letter to Secretary Conway, Lord Wallingford desires that his lady may have licence to take sixteen horses with her to the Spa. It appears by the minute of the Council, that the licence limited the number to eight coach horses.

A.D. 1621, 18 James I. At this date there was a grant * to William, Lord Wallingford, and lady Elizabeth his wife, of the manor of Rotherfield Greys, part of the Honor of Wallingford, with remainder to the heirs male of his father, Sir Francis Knollys, and with the addition of a tenancy for life to Lady Elizabeth.

A.D. 1621. This year, nine ale-house licences were suppressed by the town authorities, and the benefaction to the poor of the town amounted to £80 6*s*. 8*d*.†

Two musters were held at Cutchinsloe (Cuckhamsley),‡ and a new corslet was bought for the town, which was then remaining in the constable's hands.§

A.D. 1624. A Court of Pleas is mentioned in the Corporation

* "State Papers," Lemon. † Corporation Ledger.
‡ Ibid., p. 37. § Ibid., p. 38.

Ledger. Books and papers to be kept by the mayor, who is to be fined for not locking them up, or not producing them when required. At a court some time afterwards, it was ordered that William Loader, as servant to the recorder, do keep the records, pleadings, and processes of the Court of Pleas holden for the borough; and regulations were made as to the entry of plaints by the said William Loader.

Among the other entries in the Ledger in this reign are the following:—

"John Pearson, a burgess, was fined 6*s.* 8*d.* for using unseemly speeches to Mr. Paul Pollington, alderman."

"Henry Taylor was suspended from his place of a burgess for abusing the chamberlain, and not to be restored again but by the general consent of the mayor, recorder, and aldermen." Subsequently that consent was given, and Taylor was restored.

CHAPTER V.

CHARLES I. TO CHARLES II.—1625 TO 1660.

A.D. 1625, 1 Charles I.

It devolved on the Sheriffs and Deputy-Lieutenants of Berkshire, acting under the authority of a warrant from Viscount Wallingford, Lord-Lieutenant of Berks; Dudley, Lord Carleton; and Sir Thomas Edmondes, to make returns to the Council of State of the names of private gentlemen and others within the county who were the fittest to contribute to the loan to be obtained for the use of the king. The names of eighteen inhabitants of the borough, headed by Ambrose Cottrell, mayor, with the respective amounts at which their lands were assessed, are given in the old Ledger of the borough, in which also we find the following entry: *—

"16th January, 1626. Mr. Mayor and the rest of the subsidy men of this town were at Abingdon, before the Right Honourable William, Viscount Wallingford, and others, for to yield unto a loan for the king's Majesty of five subsidies, which was not denied, but all granted unto the same."

It further appears that Viscount Wallingford, in November, 1625, having certified three persons, two in Oxfordshire and one in Berkshire, to be able to lend money for this purpose, whom he afterwards wished to be spared, transmitted to the Council the names of other persons to be put in their places.†

A warrant from the same authorities, directing the Sheriff of Berks to summon the commissioners for the loan to meet at Reading at eight o'clock in the morning, appears to have received but slight attention; none of the official members at-

* Pages 108, 110.

† "Calendar of State Papers," Bruce, p. 165.

tended, and out of the thirty-five named who were summoned, ten only were present.

Lord Wallingford, created Earl of Banbury in 1626, continued to hold the above offices of Constable of Wallingford Castle and Steward of the manor of Ewelme till his death in May, 1632.

A letter from his lordship, dated 24th November, 1626, is set out in the Ledger,* as to billeting of soldiers in the town, with the terms. It appears they remained for sixteen weeks three days and a half, at a cost of £158 8*s.*, of which the district contributed £9 12*s.*, and in 1627 the king paid the remainder.

The following entries appear in the Corporation Ledger:—

"9th February, 1626. There was a commission, under the broad seal of England, sent unto Mr. Mayor, from the lieutenants, and was proclaimed in the market-place, to erect, build, or set up either gibbet or gallows within the liberties of our town, and thereon to execute martial law upon any soldiers that should offend or deserve the same; which bred a good deal of peace amongst us, thanks be to God."

"3rd March, 1626. John Hobson, sergeant of his company, was slain in a chamber at a tavern in Wallingford, by one William Emson, gent., as it was supposed, which caused a great deal of trouble unto the town, but God be praised, it was all peaceably ended at the next assizes and jail delivery for this county of Berks; the prisoner, then appearing with his bail, being bound in recognizance with those that should give in evidence, by Mr. Mayor, to the king's Majesty's use, in the sum of two thousand and three hundred pounds, and the town saved harmless and blameless (thanks be given unto God)." †

"7th March, 1626. Five soldiers were pressed within this borough for the king's Majesty's present service, and four of them served, and cost the town £3 9*s.* 5*d.* in all manner of charges and clothing."

"On the 15th of May, 1627, was a muster of our trained band at Rinston Leyes, with the view of all the armour not to be defective, and charge given them to be in a readiness at one hour's warning, upon pain of death, to go to the place of rendezvous, when and wheresoever it shall please the king's Majesty to command or appoint them to be."

* Page 106. † Ledger, p. 110.

In 1629, the town was ordered to provide nine muskets, and the houses paying the greatest rents were to keep them ready to produce.

The year before a bye-law was passed, imposing a fine on those inhabitants who neglected to "clean their chimnies because of the danger by fire." A similar provision has lately been made at Oxford and other places, and its revival in Wallingford might be a useful addition to the bye-laws now in contemplation for the better government of the town.

Sir Thomas Howard.

We have before referred to Sir Thomas Howard, son of the Earl of Suffolk, who was Constable in reversion of Wallingford Castle; and to his sister, Lady Wallingford, who was supposed to have exercised her influence in procuring him his peerage as Lord Andover.

On the 13th of December, 1625, the year of King Charles the First's accession to the throne, Lord Andover was installed Knight of the Garter. On the 6th of February, 1626, he was created Earl of Berkshire; and on the 18th of July, 1632, he was elected High Steward of the borough of Wallingford, on which occasion he received the following complimentary address:—

"Right Honourable,

"We, the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, together with the Burgesses and commonalty of this ancient Borough of Wallingford, with a free and humble heart and unanimous voice and consent, have elected your Lordship to the place of High Stewardship of that borough, which place of pre-eminence the late Right Honourable Earl of Banbury, deceased, held over us; and this act of ours we present unto your Honour, under our common seal, acknowledging it bears no proportion with your Honour's worth and merit. Vouchsafe, nevertheless, most worthy and our very good Lord, to accept it, as a testimony and pledge of our readiness and devotion to be always at your Honour's service, assuring ourselves your noble respect, favour, and patronage of the liberties, rights, state, and commonweal of our Borough, and will be our especial happiness, and will rightly occasion, from time to time, our most thankful endeavours, and heartiest

prayers to God, to add unto your Honour's years many happy days and years. And this, Right Honourable, being all the proceeds we shall ever be able to return, it will be your Honour's exceeding bounty, grace, and goodness, not to look beyond what we are, but to accept us as we are; and think we plight our troths to be

"Your Honour's humble servants and devoted Beadsmen." *

Lord Berkshire, like his royal master, was driven to extremities to repair his diminished fortune, and three years after the date of his appointment to the high stewardship of the borough, he entered into a speculation, and obtained a patent from the king for constructing a new kind of kiln for making malt, and resorted to various expedients to get money by the monopoly, particularly in Henley-on-Thames; and, we may suppose, Wallingford also, which was a great malting town. "These projects," says Whitelock, "I looked upon as dishonourable and illegal, and little better than cheats." But, as he gives no sufficient reason for such a grave accusation, it may be thought that the ill will, which it is admitted afterwards existed between the Royalist and the Parliamentarian, might have had an earlier inception, and created a prejudice in the mind of Whitelock at the period in question. The speculation was not successful.

The earl, although a courtier, does not appear to have been looked upon unfavourably by the Parliamentary party at the commencement of the troubles which led to the overthrow of the monarchy, while the king was manifestly desirous to secure the benefit of his services. He seems, therefore, to have been a popular man on both sides; but events speedily followed that convinced the earl that he could not serve two masters, and, judging from his actions, he declared for the king.

The royal exchequer greatly needed replenishment; and among the expedients resorted to, in which the earl took an active part, to secure that object, was the imposition of the oppressive ship money tax on all municipal corporations, writs for levying which were issued by order of the unfortunate Charles I., in 1636. Such was the embarrassed condition of the king's finances, that he had given up his general customs and subsidies at a rent of £150,000, to secure the

* Ledger, p. 119.

large sums he had borrowed at £8 per cent. interest. An official letter, dated from Wallingford House, in 1629, complains of the non-payment of the duties, and that the custom house was at such a low ebb, though not shut up, that no supplies were to be had from thence. However, Wallingford had no reason to complain of its high steward for the part he may be supposed to have taken, considering the small amount the town was called on to pay. The contribution of Wallingford, in comparison with that of Reading, shows the altered condition of the two towns since the time of the Conqueror, when Wallingford was the capital of the county, and contained a population far exceeding that of Reading and the other towns; but it was now in an impoverished condition, and stood at the bottom of the list. The poverty of the place was, doubtless, the reason of so low an assessment, which bears no proportion to the relative populations of the two towns. Wallingford, with a population, probably, at that time, of about one-fifth of that of Reading, being rated at one-thirteenth part only of the sum allotted to the latter town. Another reason, which shows that the tax was regulated more by the trade of the town than the number of its inhabitants, is afforded by the fact that there existed in Reading large mercantile establishments, in which the woollen manufacture, in particular, was carried on with great success, many of the principal clothiers having accumulated large fortunes, and being consequently in a position to contribute to the exigencies of the State; whereas Wallingford had no large manufactures, and depended mostly on its local trade, of which malting was the chief. The proportion levied on each town within the county was as under—

"Distribution of ships to the several shires of England and Wales, with their tonnage, number of men, and charge, and the sums set on the corporation towns in each county:

Berkshire—one ship of 320 tons, 120 men ...	£4000
Towne of Windsor	100
Borough of Newbury	100
Borough of Reading	220
Borough of Abingdon	100
Borough or Town of Wallingford	020." *

* From Sir Peter Temple's Papers at Stowe, then High Sheriff of Berks.

Not content with the imposition of an unpopular tax by the exercise of arbitrary power, Lord Berkshire appears to have joined the Earl of Strafford, "a grand apostate from the cause of the people," in advising its more rigorous levy, which led to the impost being considered a general grievance. The first who ventured to claim the right of having the legality of the tax determined in a court of law, was the famous John Hampden, who lost his life from a wound received in the neighbouring field of Chalgrove,* while charging the rear of the Royalists. He was a country gentleman in Buckinghamshire, and the assessment on his estate, under the name of ship money, was 20*s*. The claim of the patriot could not be evaded, and during eleven days the discussion was continued before the Judges and the Barons of the Exchequer, and was watched with eager solicitude by all parties. He rested his case mainly on the vital maxim of the Constitution, that no Englishman should be taxed without the consent of Parliament. Three months elapsed before a decision was arrived at, and then it appeared that seven judges favoured the claims of the Crown, while five were favourable to those of the people. The verdict thus tardily given was not regarded as a triumph except by the courtiers, and a large section of the people were more clamorous than ever in denouncing the tax as imposed without any real sanction from the laws of the realm.

At length, the adherence of our high steward to the cause of the king led to his arrest. The Commons having received intelligence that the earl, with divers gentlemen of quality in Oxfordshire, intended to put in execution "the king's commission of array" at Watlington, they commanded Whitelock to use his utmost endeavours to prevent the meeting, and apprehend those who should attend, placing under his command a force of cavalry and infantry. Whilst the meeting was being held, the commissioners had notice of the approach of the military, and hastily withdrew to the house of Sir Robert Dormer. Thither they were pursued; but being too weak, they yielded, after firing a few shots on the soldiers, who threatened to storm the house. Most of the commissioners were got away, but the Earl of Berkshire and

* A few years ago, a monument was erected by subscription to mark the spot.

two or three others were taken, conveyed to London, and committed to the Tower.*

A more favourable version of the earl's movements is given by other authorities, from whom we glean the following particulars.

Having, with other peers, signed a declaration of belief that King Charles had no intention of making war against the Parliament, he convened a meeting of the gentlemen and freeholders of the county of Oxford, at Watlington, for the professed purpose of devising means for common protection and defence. This measure was held to be a colourable pretext to raise men for the king's service in the county of Oxford, in which he had considerable influence, and his arrest and imprisonment in the Tower of London speedily followed. The earl petitioned the House for permission to appear and defend himself in person; and also, for his health's sake, to be allowed to remain at his house near St. James's, upon promise to appear before their lordships whensoever commanded. He was accordingly brought to the bar of the House, when he protested that the meeting at Watlington was only to advise with the gentlemen of the county how to secure their houses from plundering, by keeping a watch or any other lawful way; that he had never any further intent; and that he had no arms in his house. To some extent his appeal was successful; exactly three weeks after his arrest, Lord Berkshire was released from his imprisonment in the Tower, and confined in his house in St. James's, on his word of honour to appear before the House upon one hour's warning. Very soon afterwards, the House arrogated to itself despotic power, and resolved on a measure of great severity, for which it does not appear there was any justification. In February, 1643, it was ordered that all the goods belonging to the earl and some other peers should be seized and sold, and the proceeds employed for the use and service of the forces under the command of Lord Fairfax. We may, therefore, conclude that he was assumed to be guilty of treason to the Commonwealth. Fines of considerable amount were imposed on him, for which his estate was held to be answerable; and when he obtained his release from captivity,

* Epitomized from "Memorials of English Affairs from the beginning of the Reign of Charles I. to the Restoration of Charles II."

it was subject to a condition that he should not go into the county of Oxford. This restriction would have prevented him from visiting his lodge at Ewelme, and it seems afterwards, on the countess petitioning the House, to have been modified, so as to restrain him only from going to the city of Oxford.

The order of the Commons for seizing the goods of the earl was regarded as an infringement of the privileges of the peers, for we find on the 22nd of June, upon information being given to the House of Lords, it was "ordered by the Upper House that the goods of the earl shall not be moved, nor carried away from his house at St. James's, until the further pleasure of the House be known." Ultimately, the order of the Commons was revoked, on proof being given that his whole estate was entailed on his son, Edward, Lord Howard, and mortgaged for debt, before the wars began. The petitions of Lord Howard, and his mother the countess, with the affidavits bearing on the transaction, are set out in the Lords' Journals, vol. viii., together with an order dated 10th September, 1646, for seizure and restitution to his lordship of certain goods belonging to his house at Ewelme Park, which had been sold to, and conveyed away by, divers persons, contrary to the order of the House.

The earl was High Steward of Oxford as well as of Wallingford, and within six months after the execution of Charles I., on the 30th of January, 1649, the corporation of that city unanimously chose Mr. Whitelock to be their high steward, in the place of the earl, and presented him with a patent of appointment.*

The heavy fines that had been imposed on the earl for his alleged delinquency, and for which his estate was sequestered, having been paid with interest, the sequestration was discharged by the commissioners for compounding, pursuant to an order dated 4th January, 1652.

"A particler of the estate of the Earl of Berks, lying in the counties of Oxon and Berks, for which he hath compounded.

"That he is seised of an annuity for his life of fifty pounds per annum, issuing out of the rents, issues, and profits

* Whitelock's "Memorials."

of the Castle of Wallingford, and the manor of Newelme, in the said counties.

"That he is seised of an estate for his life; the remainder to the countess, his wife, for her life; the remainder to his heirs, of and in a capital messuage, and the park of Newelme, and certain lands, tenements, and hereditaments thereunto belonging, in the said county of Oxon, charged with a debt of seventeen hundred pounds to Robert Bickers, Esquire, the same being of the clear yearly value, over and above the rent, of sixty [pounds], reserved to the State—two hundred and forty pounds.

"A true copy, Jo. Leech." *

The foregoing reference to the high steward has broken the chain of chronological order, and we must therefore return to the year 1632.

Mr. Ambrose Cottrell, who was mayor of the borough in the years 1622, 1632, and 1638, appears to have been an indefatigable, intelligent, and conscientious member of the corporation. When a burgess, he is supposed to have written the brief account of the town and Castle, which is entered in the Ledger, and is thus headed—

"A markable rememberance of the antiquytye of the Castle and Colledge with our Charter and Freedome granted unto this ancient Corporacion of this poore Borowe of Wallingford, Gathered and Collected out of dyvers authors by A. C., one of the Burgesses of this boroughe, with the help of one gentelman of the Midle Temple, who translated one part thereof out of lattin into English, wch was out of my ellement for to doe: but I caused this for to be done, because we, the inhabitants, could saye nothinge thereunto; and now this is somethinge w^{ch} is as muche as nothinge in comparrison of that w^{ch} the learned Histriographers can saye for the antiquitye of o^{r} Towne and Castle of Wallingford; for indeed, I have caused for to be sett downe no one thinge more than I have read in the Crownacles and Histories as followeth, and for the truth hereof I appeale to the learned."

The entry contains a correct summary of the chief events from the time of the Romans down to the reign of Richard I.

* Grants—Record Office.

And now, in 1632, finding, as Mr. Cottrell states, "in our Town Ledgers many defects, of not making nor entering many of the accounts, both of the town and bridge," and, "bounded in conscience for to perform the dutye of my place," we find him in correspondence with the high steward, the Earl of Berkshire, and taking hostile action against sixteen gentlemen, who had held the office of mayor in previous years, together with the bailiffs and bridgemen, for neglect of duty in not having caused the said accounts to be made out and entered. A formal summons was issued, requiring the defaulters to appear at court, and bring in their accounts, and the consequences of neglect are pointed out. The omissions refer, as to the town accounts, to the years 1616, 1617, 1621, 1623, 1625, 1626, 1627, 1630, and 1631, and as to the bridge accounts, to the years 1607, 1614, 1615, 1620, 1629, 1630, and 1631.

In nearly all the more recent cases, the accounts appear to have been brought in and recorded; but what was done in the earlier cases is not noted.

It is recorded in the Ledger * that "William Martin, Esquire, of Oxford, gave by will, in year 1634, fifty pounds to the borough of Wallingford, to be husbanded and employed, and to remain a *stock for ever*, for and towards the setting to work and relief of the poor of that borough. And the corporation then engaged themselves, and successors, to preserve the said principal stock for the benefit and relief of the poor of the said borough, either in placing forth the children of poor parents, or poor fatherless or motherless children, apprentices or otherwise, in the employment of that stock, or in such provident way as might yearly provide work and employment for the poor of the borough."

In the existing list of borough charities no mention is made of this charitable gift, and it is not improbable that the sum was lost or misapplied during the convulsions of the civil war, when this town was garrisoned by the king's troops, and suffered much from privations of almost every kind during that long contest.

Under date 16th October, 1634, Sir Edmund Sawyer certifies that there was due £52 13*s.* 4*d.* to Thomas, Earl of Berks, Keeper of the Castle of Wallingford, for his fee of

* Page 122.

£50 for one year, and to the Steward of the manor of Wallingford for his life, £2 13*s.* 4*d.**

A.D. 1636, 11 Charles I. The following extracts from State Papers † relate to the tonnage rates on the river Thames from Wallingford to London; to a confirmation of an order of quarter sessions by the court at Wallingford as to ship money; and to a prohibitory order served on Francis Smith, of the George inn, Wallingford, not to brew and "carry it forth at his gate."

December, 1636. "Petition of Richard Bagnell, saltpetreman, to the Lords of the Admiralty. That most of petitioner's counties lying near the Thames, namely, Middlesex, Berks, and Oxon, for carrying coals and other necessaries; if they did not come from London, petitioner must fetch them from Gloucester, which is above forty miles, and very ill ways, and the country's whole work, winter and summer, would be taken up in carrying these coals for three or four years whilst he is in those parts, to the great charge of the country. The justices and gentlemen of the county desire petitioner to have his coals from London, and to bring them by water, which will be a great ease to the county, though a great charge to petitioner, by reason of the unreasonable rates of the bargemen for their carriage; for where they have 5*s.* a ton by the king's commission for carrying wheat from Wallingford to London, they ask petitioner 15*s.* a ton. Prays a warrant that he may charge any barge for carrying coals, and pay the bargemen, seeing it is for his Majesty's service, at such rates as the Lords will set down." [Endorsed, "Negatur, unless he can show precedents of the like warrants formerly granted."]

Subsequently, a petition was presented by Richard Bagnell to the Lords Commissioners for Gunpowder, praying that the bargemen trading westward may carry coals from London, and saltpetre to the saltpetre works and other places by water, at the usual rates for his Majesty's carriages, namely, from London to Wallingford and Burcot, 5*s.* per ton; to Reading, 4*s.* 2*d.*; to Henley, 3*s.* 4*d.*; and to Windsor, 3*s.* 4*d.*

November 7, 1637. "Affidavit of Richard Pearce, of Wallingford, that, on the 5th instant, Robert Pearson, in the pre-

* Exchequer Accounts; Bruce's "Calendar."

† Bruce's "Calendar."

sence of deponent, delivered a letter from the Commissioners for Brewing and Malting, to Francis Smith, of Wallingford, willing him to forbear to brew in the George inn, and carry it forth at his gate, and that he read the letter in the presence of deponent and others; that Smith said he cared not . . . for the said letter, and that he would brew in his inn as he had previously done; and on Monday last, since the receipt of the said letter, deponent saw him go forward with his brewing at the said inn."

A warrant was applied for to the Council, by Captain James Duppa, on behalf of the commissioners, to bring Francis Smith before the board; and afterwards the matter was referred to the justices of the peace near Wallingford, with what result is not stated.

A.D. 1642. When the civil war broke out between Charles I. and his Parliament, the Castle was put into a state of repair, and fortified for the king's forces, as before observed; but it appears, by the following document, that the work of fortification was not complete in May, 1643:—

"CHARLES R.*

"Whereas wee have given you our Warrant to send into the respective counties of Berks and Oxford for Labourers towards the speedy fortifying our Castle of Wallingford, who are to bee payed out of the contribucion of these our counties, which if it shall not bee sufficient for the compleating the said workes, or if they shall not come in, or obay your Warrants, and you thereby bee enforced to sett others on worke, towards the finishing the same; Wee doe hereby give you our assurance that you shall receive satisfaccion and payment of such sommes as you shall expend thereon, out of the contribucion of the other partes of those countyes, or otherwise out of our owne monyes. Wherefore wee expect you shall chearefully and speedyly proceed therein. Given at our Courte at Oxford, this first day of May, 1643.

"To our trusty and welbeloved Colonell
Blagge, Governor of Wallingford.

"This Castle . . ."

Thus the repairs must have been of considerable magni-

* From the original in the possession of the late C. Bingham, Esq., of Bingham's Melcombe, Dorset.

tude, for it had evidently fallen into a state of decay in the reign of Philip and Mary, as appears by the inquisition already set out, and it pretty clearly appears also that, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the fortress had been abandoned as an important military station. It is not unlikely that this state of decay into which the Castle had fallen, commenced during the reign of Henry VI., when the Wars of the Roses broke out between the houses of York and Lancaster, in 1455. That contest was chiefly carried on in a distant part of the kingdom, and as a strongly garrisoned castle in these parts was not considered necessary by the princes who at that time had usurped the throne, it is probable that the preservation of the buildings did not receive much attention.

King Charles had fixed his head-quarters at Oxford, with a large force under the command of Prince Rupert, and it is said that the works at Wallingford were executed for the better security of that city. Wallingford may, therefore, be supposed to have been an outpost of Oxford; but so strong was it, that, for the sixteen weeks during which the Castle was besieged, the Parliamentary forces were never able to obtain possession. The defence of the town and Castle was committed by the king to Colonel Blagge, an officer of great courage and military talents.

April 24, 1643. The king, having made preparations to relieve the town of Reading, which was garrisoned by his troops and threatened with attack by the Earl of Essex, set forward early this morning from Oxford to Wallingford. Two days before, an attempt to take that town (Reading) was made by Vavasour, which was defeated with great slaughter by Colonel Middleton. Sir Edward Deering, who was present with the king, in his journal * of these transactions, states that his Majesty established his head-quarters at Wallingford, but probably this was for a short time only, as Oxford appears to have been the chief station. The king, adds Sir Edward, "after arriving at Wallingford, went to the house of Mr. Molyns, and after dining there, went round the fortifications, and passed that evening in preparation for his attack. He took up the ground for his army about two miles before Wallingford, and gave orders that all should be in readiness for marching at five o'clock in the morning. At daybreak,

* Stowe MSS.

having slept the night before in the governor's apartments in the Castle, he mounted, having his household, heralds, and guard of gentlemen pensioners in attendance, and with him went forth his own troop of horse, consisting of a great number of persons of high quality, commanded by the Lord Bernard Stuart, brother to the Duke of Richmond, and Colonel Blagge, and part of the latter's garrison. Another troop followed, composed of their servants, under the command of Sir William Killigrew, with the baggage of the king and of his retinue. The army being forty-five troops of horse, and nine regiments of foot, besides dragoons and artillery, now marched in two divisions, the one with General Ruthorn, straight upon the town of Reading, the other, commanded by the king in person, upon a road to the left towards Caversham, where the two divisions again met, with the intention of surprising the enemy's quarters, and taking their works in reverse. Here the fight began, and soon became general. The Parliamentarians, having enclosed the rear of their works, and turned a great part of their battering train upon the king's advancing troops, at the same time made an attack on the flank of the Royalist army, having two regiments of infantry within the lines opposite, ready to act on any point. The king's troops, however, received no effectual check until they reached Caversham Bridge, which General Ruthorn endeavoured to force with his whole power, under cover of his guns, "some of which were so large," says Dr. Coates, "that they discharged balls of 24 lbs. weight"—a calibre of artillery scarcely ever before used in the field. Repulsed here, after a long and bloody struggle, the Cavaliers retired upon Wallingford, making no further attack; and Reading this year was taken by the Parliament army.*

In a short topographical account of Reading, it is stated that, after his defeat, the king "retired to Caversham House," and Reading capitulated on the terms of the garrison, being permitted to march out, with flying colours, arms, baggage, etc., to join the king's troops at Oxford. The retirement spoken of, if it took place, may possibly have been on parole,

* Abridged from "A True Relation of the Proceedings of his Excellency the Earl of Essex, with the taking of Reading by Colonel Hampden;" King's Collection, British Museum; Rushworth; Clarendon; Hist. Rep.; Whitelock's "Memorials;" etc.

for we read of the king's prison house at Caversham, although I can find nothing more definite as to his captivity, till the end of the first civil war, when he was kept in stately seclusion at Holdenby House, Northamptonshire, at £50 a day. It is hardly likely that he would have voluntarily retired to a house in the vanquished village, whilst his army returned to their quarters in Wallingford and Oxford. There is a quaint old inn, situated in the midst of beech trees on the uplands of Goring, to which, tradition says, the king was wont to repair from his prison house at Caversham, to amuse himself with bowls. The circumstance appears to be alluded to in the following lines, written on the sign-board :—

> "Stop, traveller, stop! In yonder peaceful glade
> His favourite game the Royal Martyr play'd;
> Here, stripp'd of honours, children, freedom, rank,
> Drank from the bowl, and bowl'd for what he drank;
> Sought in a cheerful glass his cares to drown,
> And chang'd his guinea ere he lost his crown."

It appears by a State Paper in the Bodleian Library,* under date 1643, that a Government debt of £11,199 1*s.* 6*d.* had been incurred, which was principally due to the inhabitants of Oxford, Abingdon, and Wallingford. In order to secure the payment of these debts, and such sums of money as should be hereafter lent, his Majesty assigned to commissioners the New Forest, Sherwood Forest and Park, Beskwood, Clarendon, and Bowood Parks. Probably the state of anarchy that ensued rendered payment of these debts impracticable at the time; and, as respects Wallingford, there is an order signed by the king and Lord Digby, and endorsed by Sir Edward Hyde, which, after reciting that the garrison at that place was not paid, directs that, in consequence of such non-payment, the Lords Commissioners at Oxford do institute an inquiry into the alleged abuse.

In August, 1643, the Earls of Lindsey, Holland, and Bedford, being discontented with the proceedings of the ruling party in the two Houses of Parliament, left them and came to Wallingford, on their way to join the king, who was then at Oxford. "Here they were received (says Whitelock) with great shows of honour by Governour Blagge, who conducted

* "Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers," edit. by Rev. O. Ogle M.A. and W. H. Bliss, D.C.L.

them on their way to Oxford." Not long after, finding less favour and respect from the king and his party than they expected, Lords Holland and Bedford found means to quit Oxford, and return to the Parliament.*

If the colonel was thus courteous to such as he considered friends to his royal master, he could be equally unbending to those whom he conceived unfriendly to the royal cause, and he behaved with such a degree of hauteur to the commissioners sent by the Parliament to the king, as showed the honest warmth with which he espoused the cause of his sovereign.

In the former part of the year, the Parliament appointed the Earl of Denbigh and the Lord Maynard, Commissioners from the Lords; Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Whitelock, and the Lord Wenman, for the Commons; and Lord Maitland, Sir Chas. Erskine, and Mr. Barclay, for Scotland,—to wait on the king with propositions for a peace; but not knowing for a certainty where Charles was at the time, they went first to Reading, where, learning that he was gone to Wallingford, they immediately took the road to Nettlebed, arriving there the same evening, and the next morning continued their journey to Crowmarsh. On their arrival at this place, they sent a letter to Colonel Blagge, to acquaint him, "that they desired permission to enter Wallingford, by virtue of a pass from his Majesty, for the purpose of waiting on him with propositions from the Parliament;"† whereupon the governor sent to demand their passport, which they refused to part from, considering the possession of it the only security they had for their own safety among their enemies; however, a copy of it was transmitted by the messenger to Blagge, who, perhaps considering the refusal of the commissioners to trust him with the original as a personal affront to himself, and wishing to resent it, kept them waiting for an answer two hours, and then sent a troop of horse to escort them into the town like prisoners.

As soon as they arrived, they went to the governor's quarters, and were received, says the historian, "not rudely, but with haughtiness enough," and having called for wine for them, he told them he believed the king was returned to Oxford, and that it was more probable they would find him there than in any other place.

* Whitelock's "Memorials," p. 71.

† Ibid. p. 112. Whitelock spells the colonel's name indifferently, "Blagge" and "Blake."

"Among other discourse, he and the Earl of Denbigh fell into relations of some passages of war, wherein both the earl and Colonel Blagge had been actors, and both of them being high spirited, could not brook any diminution of honour of each other, or of their parties.

"They differed upon some matters of fact, and grew unto very high words, insomuch as the Lord Maitland looked very pale, and he and others thought that they should have their throats cut by the garrison, and Blagge looked very big upon them, and his words were answerable.

"All the company thought it fit to remove from the garrison, seeing the carriage of Colonel Blagge so full of insolence and incivility, and, with much difficulty, they at last got into their coaches, and took leave of the proud governour."*

Soon after this visit of the commissioners, the garrison which then held the town of Abingdon in the name of the Parliament, under Major-General Crawford, being straitened for provisions, marched out with a regiment of horse, and came suddenly before Wallingford, and, after foraging close up to the walls of the town, carried away with them one thousand sheep, which were grazing in the neighbouring fields, and got safe to Abingdon with their booty.

Blagge, not being informed of the loss until it was too late to march in pursuit, but learning soon after that Colonel Crawford was on his march to Aylesbury, with about eighty horse, in search of quarters, he determined on giving him a meeting, in hopes of revenging the late loss of cattle which his own troops had been deprived of by that officer.

He accordingly took with him one hundred and twenty men, and having fallen in with the enemy, he attacked them with so much resolution, that fortune at first seemed to favour his enterprise; but singling out Crawford as the principal object of his vengeance, he rode up to him with his accustomed intrepidity, and after several blows had been exchanged between the combatants, Blagge was wounded and obliged to retreat, with only fourteen of his men, and most of those wounded, the rest being either killed or taken prisoners.† The loss on the side of the enemy being only three killed and a few wounded, if we may credit the historian; but it is hard to suppose that with so great a superiority in point of

* Whitelock's "Memorials." † Ibid.

numbers, the loss should have been so very unequal between the contending parties.

The vicinity of Abingdon to Wallingford occasioned many such skirmishes to take place during the war between their respective garrisons, in which the Parliamentary troops, from their being superior in force to those of the monarch, generally had the advantage, as in the above-mentioned instance; and shortly after Captain Tomlinson, with some horse from Abingdon, fell in with and entirely defeated a small army from Wallingford, which had been sent to forage in the neighbourhood of the town.

Under date 25th September, 1643, in the calendar of Manuscripts of the House of Lords,* is the copy of a letter from Sir Henry Anderson to Mr. Speaker, complaining "of the hard, if not unjust proceedings of the House towards him, for nothing but his peaceable intentions for which he has suffered from both sides, and of his having been kept a prisoner at Wallingford for fourteen days." He prays the Speaker to move the House to restore his money and goods forthwith, "otherwise he will be obliged to move the king to let him have satisfaction out of the estates of those who have unjustly taken his property, which, he doubts not, would be granted, even out of the estate of Mr. Speaker himself."

On the 4th of October, 1643, the Earl of Bath, writing to his wife, states, "The king and queen are gone this morning to Wallingford. Garrison at Reading. Court news." †

About the beginning of the year 1644, a party from Oxford and Wallingford went to relieve Greenland House, which, like Basing, was besieged by the Parliamentary forces, whereupon the latter drew off to Henley, and the Royalists carried away in safety twenty-nine women and some plunder; but at a later date the forces of the Parliament, having been joined by Major-General Brown and his whole brigade, were more successful, and Greenland House and Fort, of which Colonel Hawkins was governor, were surrendered to them upon certain articles, which secured an easy retreat for the defending party, with their colours, horses, swords, pikes, and muskets.

Article 4 provides that the general shall cause to be provided for the officers and soldiers two teams and carts, to carry

* Historical Manuscripts Commission. Fifth Report, p. 108.

† Ibid. Fourth Report, p. 296.

away their baggage and necessary provisions for their journey to Wallingford, which carts and horses are to be returned so soon as they come thither.

A.D. 1644. After the second battle of Newbury, on the 27th of October—in which the Royal troops were overpowered by numbers, and would have been totally overthrown but for the advent of night, which came seasonably to their relief—the king, leaving his baggage and cannon in Donnington Castle, forthwith retreated with the whole army to Wallingford. So says Hume.* But by the Fourth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, it would seem that the king took guides, and made his way from Donnington, not to Wallingford, but to Bath; and, according to the "Magna Britannia," it was Prince Maurice who headed the Royal army in this retreat.

Symonds, in his Diary, tells us that, "in November, 1644, his Majesty returned to Oxford on Wednesday night. The army marched on towards Wallingford. Lord Brainford that night lost most of his best horses, being taken by the enemy. On the 7th of the month, his Majesty marched out of Oxford, and overtook the army, and all went that night to Wallingford *sans* quarters. On Friday to [West] Ilsley; this night also *sans* quarters in the field, and *sans* provisions this day. On Saturday they went to Donnington Castle, and there met the enemy." Being strengthened by reinforcements, the king's army succeeded in bringing off the cannon that had been left there.

On the 30th of October, three days after the retreat, Charles Murry wrote to Sir John Berkeley,† giving an account of this battle, and states, "Amongst us was nothing known but utter ruin and loss of all, so that the king was advised with his son and some lords, and three troops, to get away, and join Prince Rupert, So the king got from Donnington Castle by nine at night."

The forces of the Royalists appear to have consisted of six thousand foot and five thousand horse; and on their return, the parish of Chilton, Berkshire (in which the priory of Wallingford had a considerable estate in the time of Henry III.), was the scene of a bloody conflict between the contending factions.

In 1645, Colonel Baxter, at that time Governor of the

* Hume, vol. v. p. 175.

† Historical Manuscripts Commission. Fourth Report, p. 297.

town of Reading for the Parliament, marched with a strong force to Wallingford, and drew up his men in order of battle in front of the fortifications which surrounded the town and in face of the garrison, which, being prepared for their coming, had made preparations for defence of the place, with a determined resolution to defend it to the last extremity. This show of resistance, together with the strength of the fortifications, for which he seemed to have been unprepared, induced Baxter, after making a useless parade in front of the enemy, to retire to his own quarters at Reading, whither he was soon after followed by a troop of one hundred and twenty horse; sent out by Colonel Blagge, under the command of Captain Barker. The captain, having in vain sought the enemy, began to plunder the surrounding neighbourhood, and to raise contributions, until they were surprised by a party of thirty horse, sent from Reading by Baxter to watch their movements. A sudden attack on their rear-guard, while they were marching back with the spoils they had taken, threw them at first into considerable confusion; but perceiving the inferiority of the enemy in point of numbers to themselves, they soon rallied, and fell with their whole force on this little party, whom they soon routed, with the loss of more than twenty men, either killed or taken prisoners. The remainder escaped back to Reading, and having informed Colonel Baxter of the ill success of the expedition, he immediately went off with about one hundred horse that happened accidentally to be in the town when the fugitives arrived, and overtook the enemy. A sharp action ensued, and the Wallingford men were in their turn obliged to fly, leaving their prisoners behind them, with the loss of Captain Barker, their commander, and twenty-five men who were taken prisoners, together with fifty horses and forty stand of arms; the rest returned in safety to Wallingford.

Shortly after this encounter, Major Blundel, with a party of horse from Abingdon, attacked and routed the king's life guards near Wallingford, taking many of them prisoners, together with eighty horses.

These losses on the side of the Royalists were soon after followed by another defeat. Colonel Blagge having sent out part of his garrison, which was joined by other forces from Donnington, they attacked the garrison stationed at Kintbury, near Newbury, with success, and began to plunder the inha-

bitants, one of whom named Webb was killed; but a troop of the Parliamentary horse coming up at the time, they were obliged to retire without their booty, and with the loss of some of their men, who were taken prisoners, together with about twenty horses.

These reverses of fortune did not deter the active governor from sending out another party, under the command of Colonel Lowe, who, as usual, were at first successful, having attacked some of the enemy with whom they had fallen in, and taken upwards of thirty men and horses; but being on their way back to the garrison, they fell in with a superior body of troops belonging to the enemy, commanded by Major-General Brown, and were defeated, with the loss of fifty men and horses, together with the prisoners whom they had previously taken.*

Colonel Baxter appears to have been succeeded as Governor of Reading by Colonel Barkstead, who, intending to wait on Fairfax at Newbury, was nearly taken prisoner by a party of the king's forces from Wallingford. Barkstead had been a goldsmith, and for his services in the army was advanced to the rank of major and Governor of Reading.

When the king's army was in Cornwall, the infantry was divided into three tertias; each tertia consisted of three brigades, and in this order they continued the march back. The first tertia was commanded by Colonel Blagge, Governor of Wallingford Castle. His regiment was then at Wallingford; and Cromwell's horse and dragoons having encountered with success the cavalry of the Earl of Northampton, then quartered near Islip, Oxfordshire, a troop from Wallingford, about ten miles therefrom, hastened to relieve his lordship, and were joined by some horse and foot from Faringdon, from Colonel Lisle's garrison, and all the horse in Oxford were to be drawn out. These preparations for a determined attack appear to have frightened the enemy, for, on their marching to give battle, the news came that "the enemy was gone." †

The exploits of the troopers from Wallingford, in the neighbourhood of Newbury, were not confined to the legitimate exercise of their military calling in defence of the

* Whitelock's "Memorials."

† "Diary of Marches by Richard Symonds," published by the Camden Society, from original MSS., p. 163.

Crown, but extended to acts of brigandage, as the relation of the following incidents, epitomized from Waylin's "History of Marlborough," will show.

The western carriers:—It was rather surprising, says Waylin, that, beset as was now the western road with the king's garrisons, any of the cloth manufacturers should have ventured to send their wares to London. The following anecdotes will show in what peril their property was placed. A large camp of Wiltshire carriers and clothiers having started from London, and entered into a composition with Sir John Boys, the Governor of Donnington Castle, that they should be unmolested by the Royalists on their route, by the payment of £3 for each waggon, were proceeding on their way near Marlborough, when they were met and captured by a body of cavalry. Massy, the Governor of Gloucester, attacked them, and restored the wains to the carriers.

In the following month of May, a large party of clothiers, anxious to transmit a cargo of their goods to London, resolved to convey them in person. They entered into a bond with Sir Charles Lloyd, the Governor of Devizes, whereby they engaged to pay him a sum of more than £400, as excise on the cloth, after they should have transported it to the metropolis and returned in safety with their teams. Upon this arrangement they took the road, and passed in safety the king's quarters at Marlborough, but on approaching Newbury, the terrible appearance of Sir John Boys at the head of the Donnington garrison brought them to a stand. They exhibited the bond with the Governor of Devizes, but Boys, insisting that the excise was as much payable to himself as to any other of his Majesty's servants, ordered them forthwith to produce the whole amount. They succeeded with difficulty in raising the sum amongst their friends at Newbury, and were allowed to proceed on their journey. They had not gone far before they were caught sight of by the troopers from Wallingford Castle, who, instantly pouncing upon them, drove them all, teams, baggage, and carriers, into the Castle, where the governor, Captain Blake, not only forcibly detained their goods for many days, but suffered his troopers to search their pockets. The end of it all was that, after much vexation and delay, they obtained their final discharge by consenting to pay an additional £10 on every pack of cloth, or leaving an equiva-

lent in value; by all which means it came to pass that, on arriving in London, the worthy merchants discovered that they had lost just one-third of their property. Here they related their sufferings, and met with due consideration, but how or when they ever got back again into Wiltshire we are not informed.

Another source of income, probably more legitimate, arose from levies on the hundreds. Both the Governors of Donnington and Wallingford Castles levied contributions on some of the hundreds for their garrisons, under pretence of a warrant from the king; which explains a letter set out in the Third Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, dated at Faringdon, 13th December, 1644, in which one George Lisle asks Prince Rupert to order the Governors of Donnington and Wallingford Castles to desist from intermeddling in any of the hundreds assigned to him by the prince.

About the year 1645, Serjeant Welde, a member of the House of Commons, came to Henley-on-Thames on his way to Worcester, whither he was sent by the Parliament as a Commissioner of Oyer and Terminer. "I," says Whitelock, "then at Phillis Court, waited on the judge with my troop, to convey him to the Parliament's quarters. I presented him on his departure with the linstocke, as a ceremony to persons of condition, when they come into garrisons, that they may, as it were, take command of the place, and give fire to the great guns. . . . As we came by Wallingford, who had espied us, they from the Castle bestowed some great shot at us, but no hurt was done." *

In the year 1646, after his Majesty had left Oxford and gone towards the north, the Parliament was desirous to bring the war to a conclusion as soon as possible, but as this could not be accomplished so long as the city of Oxford and other strong places were garrisoned by the king's troops, they sent the Lord General Fairfax, with the main army, to besiege that city as a preliminary to the recovery of the other towns and garrisons which still held out.

On his arrival before Oxford, the general despatched Colonel Weldon, with a strong force of horse and foot, to block up the town of Wallingford on the Berkshire side, while another strong party, under Captain Gibbons, was sent

* Whitelock's "Memorials," p. 217.

from Henley to effect the same purpose on the Oxfordshire side of the river. This party, entering the village of Crowmarsh by surprise, found there a small detachment from the garrison of Wallingford, who were stationed to secure the passage of the bridge for the free transit of provisions from that side of the river into the town. Having attacked this detachment before they could recover from their surprise, Captain Gibbons took many of them prisoners, and compelled the remainder to repass the bridge into the town, by which means the town itself was completely surrounded on all sides by the Parliamentary forces, and the garrison was entirely cut off from all communication with the surrounding country on that side.

Though thus closely pressed, the governor does not appear to have been dismayed by his situation, but seemed determined to hold the place for his Majesty to the last moment; however, wishing to gain time, he sent a letter to Colonel Weldon, requesting him not to approach too near the Castle, for, if he did, he should be under the necessity of setting fire to the town; and stating that he was induced to make this request because he had heard that the king was in London,* from whom he hoped to receive instructions, within seven or eight days, whether the town should be defended any longer or surrendered to the Parliament, whereby the further effusion of blood might be prevented. This request of the governor not being acceded to by the enemy, the town was closely invested on every side, so that no provisions could be conveyed into it, whereby the situation of the garrison, as well as of the inhabitants, became daily more and more desperate, which induced Colonel Blagge to send another flag of truce to Colonel Weldon, requesting permission to send an officer to his Majesty, to know his pleasure respecting the surrender of the town and Castle.

A similar request was made at the same time by the

* The opinion that his Majesty had repaired to London, after leaving Oxford, on his way to the north was so general, that the two Houses of Parliament caused a proclamation to be made throughout the city, by beat of drum and sound of trumpet, that whoever should harbour or conceal, or know of the harbouring or concealing of, the king's person, and should not reveal it immediately to the Speakers of both Houses, should be proceeded against as a traitor to the Commonwealth, forfeit his whole estate, and die without mercy (Whitelock's "Memorials").

Governor of Oxford Castle to the Commissioner-in-chief, Sir Thomas Fairfax, who was then stationed before that city. The permission in both cases was refused, and soon after Oxford surrendered to General Fairfax on honourable conditions. The king had succeeded in getting away from Oxford in the disguise of a footman, upon the first notice of the general's approach, and met with his amusing adventure on his way to St. Albans, and thence to Newark, where he vainly sought for safety among the Scotch. The loss of Oxford, which during the whole war had preserved its loyalty to his Majesty, and the absence of the king, so dispirited the Royalists, that the cause became almost hopeless, and most of the places in possession of the Royal forces were surrendered to the Parliament on the best terms that could be obtained. Many also of the principal leaders, and among them the two princes Rupert and Maurice, who had hitherto been the most strenuous supporters of the king, no longer adhered to the cause which the king himself had abandoned, and agreed with the ruling powers for securing their own personal safety as best they could.

But the Governor of Wallingford was not disposed to yield; though deprived of all hope of relief by the surrender of Oxford and the other posts, including Faringdon, in the neighbourhood, he still continued to keep possession of his fortress, notwithstanding it was surrounded on every side by the enemy, and he almost daily experienced an assault on some part of his lines. Such was the resolution with which this intrepid commander defended his position, that General Fairfax, despairing of getting possession of the town by force of arms, sought the aid of a select council of his officers and others, to consider the best mode to prevail on Blagge to surrender the place to the Parliament. The council consisted of Cromwell, Ireton, Lambert, and Fleetwood, with Whitelock as secretary; * and, after some deliberation about the disposition of part of the army to places where they were needed, and about the reducing of Wallingford, and what conditions to send to the governor, certain articles of capitulation were drawn up, and it was ordered that two regiments should be sent to Wallingford, two more to Raglan, and four regiments to Worcester. These articles were immediately forwarded to Colonel Blagge,

* Whitelock's "Memorials," p. 213.

and although they were very favourable to the officers and men belonging to the garrison, and other parties concerned, they were not sufficient to induce the governor to comply with the stipulations proposed, and he therefore returned for answer, "that he could not surrender the town without the previous consent of his Majesty." On receiving this reply, the Lord General Fairfax ordered the two additional regiments, which had been provided, to march immediately to Wallingford, to assist in blocking up the town more closely than it had been, and to prevent any provisions being sent in for the use of the garrison. By these means the town became so straitened for the necessaries of life, that the governor at length found himself compelled, by sheer necessity, to offer to treat for a surrender, as the only means left to provide for the safety of the garrison, and to secure both his officers and men from the violence of an enemy exasperated against them by the protracted length of the siege. "Having formed this resolution," says Whitelock,* "on the 8th day of July this year (1646), Blagge sent a *high* and *proud* letter to the general, requesting a cessation of arms," to which Fairfax agreed, to prevent the town from being burnt, which Blagge threatened to do. Commissioners were at once appointed by the general to treat upon the terms of capitulation, and, as a preliminary, it was agreed that there should be a cessation of arms for four days. During this interval, so many objections were made by the governor to the terms that were offered by the commissioners, that it was not till the seventeenth of the same month that the terms of capitulation were considered to be finally agreed on by both parties. When, however, tendered to Fairfax for signature, he refused to sign them until he had consulted the House of Commons as to one of the articles, which had been insisted on by Blagge as a *sine quâ non*, and which was that "the officers and soldiers belonging to the garrison should not have any oaths or covenants imposed upon them after the surrender of the town." The House refused to allow that article, and ordered the general to renew the siege of the Castle. Again the governor assumed the defensive, and held out until the 24th of July, being six weeks after the surrender of the city of Oxford, when fresh articles of capitulation being agreed on between General

* "Memorials," p. 215.

Fairfax and Colonel Blagge,* they were transmitted to the House of Commons for approval, and soon after returned, with orders for their being carried into execution. The following is a copy of the articles, whereby it will be seen that the requirements of the governor were acceded to with but little modification :—

"Articles of agreement † concluded by his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, Knight, General of the forces raised by the Parliament, on the one party, and Colonel Thomas Blag, Governor of Wallingford on the other party; for and concerning the rendering the garrison of Wallingford Castle and town, July 22, 1646.

"1. That the Castle and town of Wallingford, with all the ordnance, arms, ammunitions, stores, and provisions of war thereunto belonging, shall be delivered up without wilful spoil or embezzlement unto his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, or such as he shall appoint to receive the same, upon Wednesday, the 29th day of July, 1646, by nine of the clock in the morning, in such manner and with such exceptions as are contained in the ensuing articles.

"2. That on the said 29th day of July, the governor and all officers and soldiers of the garrison, with all other persons therein (that will) shall march out of Wallingford with their horses and arms properly belonging to them (proportionate to their present and past commands or employments), with flying colours, trumpets sounding, drums beating, matches lighted at both ends, bullet in their mouths, and every soldier twelve charges of powder, match, and bullet proportionate, with one piece of ordnance with equipage, and with bag and baggage, to any place within ten miles of Wallingford which the governor shall choose; where (in regard his Majesty hath no garrison left open nor army near) all their horses and arms, except what are allowed in the ensuing articles, shall be delivered up to such as his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax shall appoint; all the soldiers shall be disbanded; and all such, both officers, soldiers, and others, as shall engage themselves by promise never to bear arms against the Parliament, nor to do anything wilfully to the prejudice of their affairs during their abode in the Parliament's quarters,

* Gough's "British Topography," vol. i. p. 182.

† "Anglia Rediviva," by Joshua Sprigg, M.A., Chaplain to Fairfax.

shall have the benefit of the ensuing articles; that is to say—

"3. That all such as shall desire to go to their houses or private friends (who shall not be prejudiced for receiving them) shall have the general's pass and protection for their peaceable repair to and abode at the several places they shall so desire to go unto; the governor, officers, and gentlemen to pass with equipage of horses and arms answerable to their present and past commands or qualities; and all, both officers, soldiers, and others, to pass with bag and baggage, and the troopers only with their swords and their bag and baggage.

"4. That all such (if there be any) who shall desire to take entertainment for foreign service, shall have passes from their officers (not exceeding four), with their horses and two servants apiece, to go to London, to treat with any foreign ambassador or agent for entertainment, and all of them shall have liberty and passes to march (the officers with equipage of horses and arms properly their own and answerable to their present and past commands, the common soldiers with their swords, and all with bag and baggage) to the quarters near unto Harwich or Southampton, or to any port between them, to be transported, where they shall be assisted in the procuring of vessels and shipping for their transportation at the usual rates accustomed for freight by the governor of the next garrison or port town, who shall also take care for their safety and accommodation with quarters until shipping be provided and weather seasonable, they paying for the same after twenty-eight days from the render.

"5. That all the persons now in Wallingford (not being of the soldiery of the garrison) shall have liberty and protections for their persons and goods to stay in the town of Wallingford one month after the rendering (if they desire it), and then to have the general's pass and protection, as others going out at the rendering upon the like engagement; and that any person whatsoever (who being sick or wounded cannot at present remove) shall have liberty to stay till they be recovered, or able to go away, and shall have fit accommodation and subsistence provided for them during such their stay, and then shall enjoy the benefit of these articles.

"6. That no person whatsoever comprised in this capitu-

lation shall be reproached, reviled, affronted, plundered, or injured in their march, rendezvous, or quarters, journeys, or places of abode, by these articles allowed, nor shall be compelled to bear arms, nor be imprisoned, restrained, sued, molested, or damnified, for any matter whatsoever of public or private concernment relating to the present war, the matter or grounds thereof arising before the rendering of the garrison, during the space of six months after the rendering thereof, nor be compelled to take any oaths or other engagements than what is mentioned in the second article, during the time of six months, and to have liberty during the said time to travel about their lawful affairs.

"7. That all horses and other goods now in Wallingford, taken as lawful prize of war, or properly belonging to the governor or officers of the garrison before or during the siege, shall be continued in the possession of the present possessors, except such as are to be delivered up by the tenor of these articles.

"8. That such household stuff and goods now in Wallingford as shall appear to the general, or such as he shall depute for that purpose, to have been borrowed by any officer or gentleman in the garrison for their use and accommodation in the garrison, shall be restored back to the owners.

"9. That if any person or persons shall wilfully violate these articles in any part, the guilt thereof shall be imputed to such person or persons only, and shall not prejudice any other not acting or consenting to the same.

"10. That the governor and three more such officers and gentlemen as he shall name shall have passes from the general for themselves with two servants apiece, their horses, swords, pistols, and necessaries, to go to the king to give him an account of the said garrison, and to return to their homes or friends; and that five weeks shall be allowed for this journey, which shall not be reckoned any part of the six months mentioned in the sixth article; but he and they shall be allowed six months after the end of the said five weeks.

"11. That no officer, soldier, or other person, who, by the articles, are to march out of the Castle or town of Wallingford (or shall march in), shall plunder, spoil, or injure any inhabitant or other person therein, in their persons, goods, or

estates, or carry away anything that is properly belonging to any of them.

"12. That all persons comprised within these articles shall peaceably and quietly enjoy all their goods, debts, and movables, and to depart the kingdom with the same as they shall think fit and desire, and shall have passes for their transportation accordingly, from his Excellency.

"13. That all persons comprised in these articles shall, upon request, have a certificate, under the hand of the general, or such as he shall appoint, that such persons were in the Castle and town of Wallingford at the time of the rendering thereof, and are to have the benefit of these articles.

"14. That the townsmen and inhabitants of the town of Wallingford shall not be troubled or questioned for anything said or written by any of them, nor the corporation thereof prejudiced for anything done by any of them by express command since it was a garrison, and that they shall have the benefit of these articles in all things that may concern them.

"15. That Master John Chamberlain, of Sherborne, shall have the benefit of these articles.

"THOMAS FAIRFAX."

During the interval between the time when the articles were signed and sealed, and the giving up of the town to the Parliament, the governor was accused, by some of his own officers and soldiers, of having disposed of some of the stores for his own emolument. This occasioned much ill will between Blagge and part of the garrison, which was carried to such a height that the men broke out into a mutiny, presented their muskets at him, and it is said they would have murdered him, had he not, for the security of his own person, sent privately to General Fairfax for the passes, and offered to surrender the Castle two days before the time agreed upon. On receiving this communication, General Fairfax despatched Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, with the regiment he commanded, into the town, to assist the governor in keeping order, and to defend the officers and men who still adhered to him from the violence of the mutineers. Order having been restored, the garrison marched out, and the town and Castle were delivered up to General Fairfax, who, as soon as Colonel Blagge had quitted the town, appointed the Honourable Arthur

Evelyn, Adjutant-General of the Cavalry, and nominated him governor of the town and Castle.

Thus Wallingford Castle yielded, as appears by the official return, on the 27th of July, 1646, after making war for sixty-five days, with the loss of five slain. The return gives the ordnance taken seven, arms eight hundred, together with the colours. Raglan and Pendennis were now the only castles remaining which were garrisoned by the king; the former was a stronghold in Wales, under the command of the Marquis of Worcester, and the latter, standing as it were upon the sea in the extreme part of Cornwall, commanded in a great part the harbour of Falmouth. Released from Wallingford, the Parliament's forces repaired to these fortresses, which, during the following month of August, were both reduced.

On the 23rd of July, 1646, Sir Thomas Fairfax wrote to his father, Lord Fairfax, as follows, dated from Forest Hill:—

"To the Right Honourable my beloved Father, the Lord Fairfax.

"May it please your Lordship,

"It is so long since I write, as I have need of your Lordship's pardon. By this you will understand that Wallingford will be delivered up to us on Wednesday next. The particulars I have sent to the House. The Lord still follows us with His mercies. . . . I shall receive any advice from your Lordship very thankfully, and in the mean time I shall endeavour to keep together and in good order the army." *

28th July. Fairfax transmitted to the House the particulars of the surrender,† with copy of the articles, and his nomination of Adjutant Evelyn to be governor, which the House approved. The cause of the mutiny is alleged to be "that Colonel Blagge sold the corn and provisions in the Castle, and put the money in his own purse, without giving one penny of it to the soldiers, though much pay was in arrear to them.‡ . . .

"A thousand foot, besides horse, marched out of the Castle, and they left in it fourteen pieces of ordnance, store of arms, ammunition, and some provisions."

* "Memorials of the Civil War," by Robert Bell.

† Whitelock, "Memorials," p. 217.

‡ Letters from Sir Thomas Fairfax; Whitelock.

25th September, 1646. "The establishment and securing of Wallingford Castle, referred to the general and a committee named, to draw up a new establishment thereof. I (Whitelock) laboured with the general, and with the members of both Houses, to get an order for the demolishing of it." *

Among the papers † preserved at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, is the letter, of which the following is an abstract:—

1646, August 14, Paris. Cadwallader Jones to Sir E. Hyde. "Pendennis is in great distress. Wallingford and Worcester are taken. Fairfax is gone to Bath. The king is at Newcastle, and refuses to subscribe the propositions. Montrose resolves not to quit his army." Original endorsed by Hyde.

Banbury is conspicuous also among the castles that held out, it having successfully opposed every force which the Parliament could bring against it for more than three years and a half, although at length, after a siege which lasted fifteen weeks, further resistance was abandoned. Wallingford was not behindhand in giving assistance to its neighbouring stronghold, both in troops and money. In February, 1646, it is mentioned that Colonel Blagge sent to the king £500, to encourage him in maintaining his position at Banbury.

After Wallingford Castle had been surrendered to the Parliament, it became one of the State prisons, and the learned Judge Jenkyns was committed a prisoner there.‡ In the year 1648, the Tower of London being filled with the unfortunate Royalists under accusations against the State, an order was made by the House of Commons to remove some of them to Warwick, Windsor, and Wallingford Castles.§

In the next year, April 3rd, warrants were issued by order of the Council of State, to the keepers of the prisons in and about London, Windsor, Wallingford, and Warwick, to return the names of all their prisoners within fourteen days, "except such as are for felony or debt." ||

The day's proceedings of the Council of State, under date June and July, 1650, give the following particulars relating to prisoners in Wallingford Castle:—

26th June. "Sir John Clotworthy and Major-General

* Whitelock's "Memorials," vol. ii. edit. 1853.
† "Calendar," by Ogle and Bliss. ‡ Lysons' "Berks."
§ Whitelock. || "Calendar of State Papers," Green.

Browne to be removed from Windsor Castle to Wallingford Castle, and there safely kept until further order, and the Lord General to give order therein."

Same date. "Warrants from the Council of State to deliver Sir John Clotworthy and Major-General Browne to Major Evelyn, Governor of Wallingford, to be conveyed to Wallingford Castle.

"Warrant to the Governor of Wallingford to go to Windsor, and receive Sir John Clotworthy and Major-General Browne, and convey them to Wallingford Castle."

July 27, 1650. "Sir William Waller to be remanded to Windsor Castle, and there to remain prisoner as formerly, until further order; and Sir John Clotworthy to be sent prisoner to Wallingford Castle."

Sir John Clotworthy was a zealot among the puritans, and had been a great leader in the Lower House. He chose, at the time of the execution of Archbishop Laud, to harass him on the scaffold as to his belief, for his salvation, in the efficacy of his good works, and not in the death of the Redeemer.*

Before we leave this part of our subject, we must refer to the valiant Colonel Blagge, who died at the early age of forty-seven, on the 14th of November, 1660. He was buried in the north cross of Westminster Abbey, and the following is the inscription on his monument, translated from the Latin:—

"Thomas Blagge, Esquire, of an ancient and noble family in the county of Suffolk; a gentleman, who, to the rarest accomplishments of mind and body, added the sciences, and every civil and military virtue. As he was beloved by Charles I. and II., of whose bedchamber he was, he preserved an unshaken fidelity to them, and performed many important services; especially when Governor of Wallingford Castle, which, after almost all the rest had submitted, he defended so valiantly, that, when he marched out of it, it was by his Majesty's own command: giving also afterwards a singular pattern of steady loyalty, in his sufferings for the royal cause, by exile abroad and frequent imprisonments at home. For these deserts, he was, at the king's restoration, made a colonel in the guards, and Governor of Yarmouth and Languard Fort. Further preferments were designed for him,

* Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 338.

of which death deprived him; with the generous satisfaction, however, of having in prosperity that master to whom he had so faithfully adhered in his adversity."

The following illustrations are selected from the various State Papers and Records relating to Wallingford:—

1649, March 29. "Derby House. Council of State to Mr. Draper and Mr. Appletree. Thanks for your letter, manifesting your care to preserve the peace of the Commonwealth. Considering the danger therein represented, we have written to all the sheriffs in England and Wales, to prevent the mischief that might come by the meeting of numbers of malignants, upon what pretence soever. As for Captain Smith, we have given him power, on occasion, to go out of the county for suppressing such meetings. We conceive there will be speedy course taken to put all the counties into such a position that those ill-affected men shall not be able to bring their designs into effect. We have likewise written concerning this to the Governors of Oxford and Wallingford, with whom you are to consult."

Same date. "Council of State to Captain Smith. By your letters we hear of the meetings of disaffected persons in the county of Oxford, of your diligence to prevent the danger in that county, and how they would avoid you by passing into the next. We therefore hereby authorize you, on occasion, to pass with your troops out of the county of Oxford into any adjacent county, for dispersing any such meetings, acquainting the Governors of Oxford and Wallingford with that you do herein." *

1649, April 3. "Council of State to the several governors of garrisons. To the Governors of Oxford and Wallingford. . . . Also we have written to all the sheriffs of England and Wales, recommending the preservation of the peace of their several counties; but not knowing how far their power may suffice, we desire you also to have a watchful eye upon all such meetings and conflux of disaffected persons, and to take care to break them up, and let nothing be done that may tend to the prejudice of the Commonwealth. If the sheriff desires forces from you, you are to give him assistance." †

1649, June 21. "Council of State. Day's proceedings:

* Green's "Calendar," vol. ii. p. 60. † Ibid., p. 69.

The Garrison Committee to consider as to Wallingford Castle and also other garrisons."

July 20. "Whitehall. Council of State to the Governor of Wallingford Castle. We find, by the petition of Sir Nathaniel Brent, that there have been suits in law between him and Mr. Molins, respecting land near the garrison of Wallingford, and that he has obtained a decree in Chancery, putting him into possession thereof, but cannot receive any benefit, as Molins shelters himself within your garrison, and receives such countenance that the law cannot have effect. You are to order that no protection be given to Molins or any other within your garrison to hinder the free course of law, but to give all assistance to the ministers thereof, for performance of their duty, and for executing writs from the courts of justice. This we rather recommend, as some have lately been wounded, and their lives endangered, by resistance made to the execution of justice." *

September 8. "The paper concerning ordnance for Wallingford Castle referred to the Ordnance Committee." Day's proceedings.

November 5. "Council of State to the Governor of Wallingford Castle. Wanting ordnance for a place of special concernment, that we may know how and whence to furnish it, we desire you to inform us what guns there are in Wallingford Castle, both those belonging to the train of the Lord General, those you judge necessary for the defence of the place, and such others as have been brought thither from other places and lie at present in the magazine, with their carriages, etc., that we may give order for the removal of such as we may judge fit." †

December 8. "To write to the Governor of Wallingford Castle to deliver to Colonel George Fenwick six demi-culverins, fourteen iron sakers, and two brass mortar pieces for the garrison at Berwick." Day's proceedings.

December 22. "Sixteen warrants to be issued to the ordnance officers, to collect and bring into the Tower, eight or ten pieces of ordnance from Oxford, a dozen pieces of brass ordnance from the church at Exeter, eight from the church at Northampton . . . twenty tons of unserviceable brass pieces from Wallingford, and the same quantity from

* Green's "Calendar," p. 241. † Ibid., p. 378.

Hull. Order to be given to the gun-founder to cast new ones out of such as are useless." * Day's proceedings. Warrants issued accordingly by Council of State and Admiralty.

1649–50, March 11. "From Council of State to Commissioners of Customs. To draw up a contract with John Browne and Mr. Pitt, gun-founders, for new casting twenty-two tons of unserviceable brass ordnance brought from Wallingford, into pieces for the artillery train, as Lieutenant-General Hammond shall appoint." † Day's proceedings.

1650, January 31. "That letters be written to the store-keepers of Windsor, Wallingford, Portsmouth, Exeter, Northampton, and Stafford, to return an account of arms, ammunition, great guns, and mortars of all sorts, delivered by them for the service of Ireland, since 1st March, 1648–9." ‡

April 15. "A company of Sir William Constable's regiment to go to Wallingford Castle, to relieve Colonel Ingoldsby's company." "Order in Parliament, that the troop of horse commanded by Captain Smith, in Bedfordshire, be also taken on the establishment in relation to the garrisons of Windsor, Wallingford, and Oxford, and that the Army Committee also give warrants for their pay. Warrants were issued accordingly by the Council of State and Admiralty."

1650, July 31. "Committee of Council which meets with the officers of the army." Day's proceedings—

"To report to the Council that Captain Smith's troop ought not to be limited to any time for their continuance upon the establishment, and that it should be added to the establishment in relation to the garrisons of Windsor, Wallingford, and Oxford."

October 16. "To write Daniel Blagrave, and the Governor of Wallingford Castle, as to the information given concerning the miscarriage of a minister at Reading; and examine both sides, and return the examinations."

"The Governor of Windsor to join the Governor of Wallingford and Daniel Blagrave, for considering a list of persons in Reading who offer to serve the public." §

* Green's "Calendar," pp. 419, 422.

† "Calendar of State Papers," edited by John Bruce.

‡ Green's "Calendar," p. 500. § "State Papers," Green.

Commissions to be issued to persons named by Major Evelyn, for command of the militia forces in Berkshire.

1650. "There was charged upon the town of Henley-on-Thames, by the soldiers belonging to the troop of Colonel Evelyn, Gov'ner of Walingford, at the tyme when the town lent them money—£00 15*s.* 00*d.*" *

The entries in the Statute-Book and old Ledger of the Corporation, in the time of the Commonwealth, enable us to give the following particulars :—

"Mr. Arthur Evelyn, Governor of Wallingford Castle, 1650, he gave £3 10*s.*, his free gift to the poor of Wallingford." †

It appears by the Ledger, and the accounts of Ambrose Cottrell, one of the burgesses, entered ‡ therein, under date December, 1615, that two new silver maces were made in that year for the borough, at the cost of £13 2*s.* 9*d.* There is also an item of payment of 25*s.*, for "two pocket maces of Lattine for the Serjeants to arrest withall." The two old maces were sold at the valuation of a goldsmith, and the new ones made "by one Anthony Bennett, at the signe of the Sunne, in Foster Lane, London."

In the mayoralty of Mr. William Cooke, in this year (1650), the above-mentioned maces, which savoured probably too much of royalty, were sold, and "the greate mace" was made. The following entries appear under that date :—

"The two old maces weighed forty ounces ten pennyweights, which the goldsmith, Mr. Thomas Mandye, of Fetter Lane, London, who also made the new mace, did allow for the two aforesaid old maces five shillings an ounce, which is in money ten pounds two shillings and sixpence—£10 2*s.* 6*d.*"

"The weight of this new mace for the Burrough is ninetie-eight ounces and fourteen pennyweights, at seven shillings per ounce, w^{ch} comes to thirtie-seven pounds, threepence, unguilt. The guilding of the mace cost nine pounds, the engraving of the armes of the towne upon the mace cost 5*s.* Alsoo y^{e} case for the mace, wth locke and keye to it, cost ten shillings. Y^{e} carriage of the mace from London to Wallingford cost three shillings, which in the total is, fortie-six pounds eighteen shillings and three pence—£46 18*s.* 3*d.*"

* "History of Henley," by Burns, Bridge account.

† Statute-Book, p. 4. ‡ Page 105.

The benefactors to the new mace were—

	£	s.	d.
Mr. William Cooke, Mayor	10	0	0
Mr. Walter Bigg, who was borne in this town	20	0	0
Mr. Cheney	0	10	0
Out of the Corporation Rents	6	5	9

In July, 1769, the mace was regilt at a cost of £15 8*s.**

Among the disbursements by the mayor, allowed at a meeting in the year 1651, is the following:—

"Laid out for a canopie for the mace to stand in at the common meeting-place for the worship of God in this Burrough of Wallingford, the sum of £00 03*s.* 00*d.*"

This is explained by a subsequent entry, whereby it appears that a weekly lecture was appointed to be preached on market day, from the first Friday in March to the last Friday in October, and that, "the ministers that preached this lecture, by the intreatie of Mr. William Cooke, the mayor, were—

1. Mr. John Ley, Minister of Brightwell, Berkshire.
2. Doctor Stanton, Head of Corpus Christi Colledg, in Oxford.
3. Doctor Langley, Head of Pembroke Colledg, in Oxford.
4. Mr. Brice, Minister of Henley-on-Thames.
5. Mr. Cornish, one of the Cannons of Christ Church, Oxford.
6. Mr. Owen, President of St. John's Colledg, in Oxford.
7. Doctor Wilkins, Head of Wadham Colledg, in Oxford.
8. Mr. Connett, Head of Exeter Colledg, in Oxford.
9. Mr. Wilkinson, President of Mawlin Hall, in Oxford.
10. Mr. Johnson, a neighbour Minister.
11. Mr. Barron, Fellow of Mawlin Colledg, in Oxford.
12. Mr. Ley, Minister of Wantage, in Barkshire.
13. Mr. Titble, Minister of Abingdon, in Barkshire.
14. Mr. Flowd, Minister of Readinge, in Barkshire."

The preaching probably led to the closing of several alehouses, for, of the thirty-two then existing, Mr. Mayor, having advised with his assistants, thought fit to license twelve only, namely—

"Richard White, at the Mermaid, in the market-place.
Edward Collier, at the Tallbot, in the market-place.

* Ledger.

Richard Carter, at the Plume of Feathers, in the market-place.
Robert Pearson, at the Black boye, in the market-place.
Richard Ouldham, at the Cock, in the market-place.
William Eliott, at the White Hart, near the market-place.
Thomas Eelye, at the Bell, in the market-place.
John Button, near the Mill Bridge.
Richard Brocke, at the Green tree.
John Culham, at the Wharfe.
Thomas Tompson, at the Greyhound, in the High Street.
John Smith, near the market-place, through the request of Major Bigg (who is a very good friend to this town), and John Smith being of good conversation and abilitie, it was thought fit by Mr. Maior, upon the advice of religious people in this Burrough, to forbear the suppressing of the aforesaid John Smith."

One innholder—

"Mr. Samuel Peirse, innholder, at the George, in the High Street."

In the same year, "it was thought fitt, for the preventing of fire in the night season, and evil courses of night walkers, to chuse a man, to walk every night in the year through all the streets and lanes in the night season, to call upon all people that are up to be carefull of their fire and candle light." Thomas Phelpe was elected to the office.

"A Market to be kept on Good Friday, by order of the Mayor.

"Wallingford. In the mayoralty of Mr. William Cooke, this present year (1650), also was the market or fair that was held on the Thursday before the day called by some Good Friday, in reference to the observation of Good Friday. It was by Mr. Mayor aforesaid prohibited by proclamation from the aforesaid mayor on the market day before, by the bellman, that no person whatsoever should presume to expose any wares to sale in the market-place on the Thursday, upon the pain and penalty of forestalling, but to make sale of all merchantable commodities on our usual market days, being Friday, in the common market-place, as is according to the direction of our charter, the days before Good Friday, so called, being no fair allowed of by our charter." *

* Statute-Book, 5 b.

Towards the close of the year 1650, an act was made at the common council, for cleansing the streets, of which the following is an epitome :—

Whoever shall lay timber, dung-hills, or other filth in the streets, to forfeit 6*s.* 8*d.* for the use of the poor, to be levied by way of distress under warrant of the mayor, unless removed within ten days after notice.

Whoever shall not pitch or gravel the streets before his door or house, after notice, so that there be no holes or myre, to be fined 6*s.* 8*d.*

A fine of 12*d.* on inhabitants for not cleaning the streets before their doors or houses, and a like fine for throwing out chamber lye or other filth from doors or windows, were imposed.

Hogs and cows straying to be impounded by the bellman or beadle, who, if he neglects his duty, is to be imprisoned by the mayor; and a fine of 6*s.* 8*d.* is imposed on the bailiff for neglect of duty.

The following extracts are taken from the "Calendar of State Papers," by Mary Anne Everett Green, Domestic Series :—

1651, March 2. "Colonel Evelyn was ordered to send forty men out of his garrison, as recruits to Ireland with their arms."

April 9. "Petition of Peter Crawley, gunner of Wallingford Castle, to the Council of State, to examine the papers annexed, and refer them to the Ordnance Committee. Petitioner, nine weeks since, sent up several papers concerning supplies required at the Castle, which were referred to the said committee, but the reference has been lost, and after his time, trouble, and expense, he is now as far off of what he sought as ever. Annexed is a note by Arthur Evelyn, governor, that canvas, paper, rope, ladles, blocks, bandoleers, sheepskins, carriages for guns, etc., are wanted."

May 9. "For the present security of Oxford, the company lately belonging to Captain Disney, in Wallingford, to be removed to Oxford, and while it is there, Mr. Draper is to command it as governor; Sir William Constable to be made acquainted with the disposal of his company of his regiment accordingly. A company of Colonel Gibbons's regiment ordered to Wallingford, in lieu of Captain Disney's, to be removed to Oxford."

July 28. Two pages are filled with an account by Commissary Phipps, of arms, ammunition, and stores remaining in Wallingford Castle.

August 19. "Whitehall. Council of State to the Governor of Wallingford. For the more speedy furnishing the citadel at Oxford with ammunition, we have ordered the Governor of Oxford to send to you for ten barrels of powder and match and bullet; deliver it without delay, the necessity of the place requiring despatch." *

Same day. "To the Governor of Oxford. As your citadel wants ammunition, we have written to the Governor of Wallingford to deliver you ten barrels. Send the enclosed to him with speed."

August 22. "Captain Bray to be removed from Windsor Castle to Wallingford. To report to the House that Council, being informed by the Governor of Windsor Castle that Captain Bray, prisoner there, committed from Parliament, is a person very dangerous to the peace and safety of that garrison, and more especially at this time is very active to beget disturbances amongst the soldiers, have thought fit to remove him to Wallingford." †

August 27. "Council of State to the Lord General, Whitehall. . . . We have given directions for a magazine to be furnished at Wallingford, in order to your supplies; the particulars now there, and what else is appointed to be sent thither, you shall have by our next. We have also written to the counties in those parts to furnish provisions as you desire. Great disservice is done in this conjuncture, in strengthening the hands of the enemy's party and weakening the well affected, by the usual stratagem of that party, who have made lies their refuge, by raising and spreading of false reports of their progress and advance, and of their numbers and power, and great accessions of force. We have written to all the counties to take care for the apprehension and securing of all such emissaries, or any deluded by them, in order to their further punishment, or at least prevention of any effect by that practice." ‡

Same date. "Council of State. Day's proceedings: The committee for Windsor Castle to consider what may

* "Calendar of State Papers," Green, p. 374.
† Ibid., p. 353. ‡ Ibid., p. 379.

be done for the safety of Wallingford Castle, and to report to-morrow." *

August 28. "Day's proceedings—

"1. The Ordnance Committee to take care that four hundred barrels of powder may be immediately sent to Wallingford Castle.

"2. To write the justices of the peace of those counties where neglects have been in furnishing teams to the train artillery.

"3. The Ordnance Committee to provide 5000 shovels, spades, and pickaxes, and 30 tons of match, to be sent to Gloucester by way of Wallingford Castle, according to the desire of the Lord General.

"To write to the Governor of Oxford that the Council have thought fit, for the safety of Oxford, to appoint Colonel Hearne with his forces to take care of that place, and have appointed other forces to come up to him." †

Same date. "Council of State to Lord General Fleetwood. The Lord General having written for 400 barrels of powder to be sent to Gloucester, we have thought fit that 300 barrels should be sent from Wallingford, and desire you to appoint some person to take care of it, as also to appoint a convoy and carriages for it, and we enclose a warrant to the Governor of Wallingford for its delivery."

August 30. "To write the Lord General that 400 barrels of powder have been sent to Gloucester for the use of the army, and order given to send 200 more to Wallingford."

September 5. "Council of State. Day's proceedings. "Order to be sent to the ordnance officers to make stay of the powder, tents, and pioneers' tools going to Wallingford."

September 13. "£30 to be paid to any one of the ordnance officers out of the exigent money of Council, for defraying the charge of the barges employed in carrying ammunition to Wallingford."

Same date. "Council of State to the Militia Commissioners for Berks. We have received yours from Wallingford, concerning the horses of the militia troops, to be delivered to the riders, who were in actual service upon them, and who charged and did good service there, and have referred the same to consideration; but you are to adjust it meantime if

* "Calendar of State Papers," Green, p. 374. † Ibid., p. 380.

you can, taking care that none be admitted to such pretensions whose case does not apply, and that no charge grow by continuing them in service until their pretensions are cleared."

September 17. "The company of foot commanded by Captain Draper to be appointed to the garrison of Wallingford, and Captain Biller's company to Windsor Castle."

Same date. "Council of State to Captain Draper, or Lieutenant Hands. We ordered you to march with your company to Windsor Castle; but since we have thought it necessary that your company should be appointed to the guard of Wallingford Castle. Therefore march to that Castle, and remain there until you receive further order." *

September 19. "The desires of Major Evelyn, Governor of Wallingford Castle, for satisfaction for keeping some Scotch prisoners, referred to the Irish and Scotch Committees, who are to receive his account and allow him the same as others in like cases."

November 9. "Petition and certificate of Henry Knapp, referred to the Lord Commissioner Whitelock, to consider what is fit to be allowed him for the rent of his house within Wallingford Castle, for so long as it has been and will be used by the State."

November 13. "£20 a year for five years to be paid to Mr. Knapp, for the rent of his house in Wallingford Castle, and Lord Commissioner Whitelock and Colonel Fielden to consider where the money may be had for the time past, and for so long as the Commonwealth shall make use of it."

November 14. "The £20 a year allowed for the rent of the house where the Governor of Wallingford Castle lived for five years, charged upon the receipts at Haberdashers' Hall, as also the growing rent from quarter to quarter, until Council orders its delivery to Mr. Knapp, the owner. Day's proceedings."

December 19. "Warrant by Treasurers at War to Commissary John Phipps. For bringing military provisions from Wallingford to the Tower, £20."

Same date. "Council of State to Governor of Wallingford. To deliver all the military stores there to Commissary John

* "Calendar of State Papers," Green, p. 563.

Phipps, to be brought to the Tower, except 20 barrels of powder, 2 tons of match, half a ton of musket shot, and 20 rounds of shot for each piece of ordnance there."

Same date. "Order to be given as aforesaid to the Governor or Officer-in-chief at Wallingford, and stores to be brought away in a barge to the Tower, and certain parts of the ammunition, shells, mortars, etc., to be shipped forthwith for Ireland and Jersey."

1652, January 19. "Warrant of Council of State, for payment of £21 8*s.* to Thomas Dodson, for bringing 350 barrels of powder from Wallingford Castle to the Tower."

January 29. "Major Evelyn to Sir . . . Hesilrigge, President of the Council of State. Tell Council that one of the barges bringing ammunition from Wallingford Castle was drowned near Streatley, at a lock; of the powder 200 barrels, and of the match 12½ tons are missing; the rest it is feared is unserviceable. Most of the bullet, 12 tons, is saved, if they can weigh up the barge. Reference of the above to the Ordnance Committee."

February 20. "Council of State to Major Evelyn, Mr. Green, and Captain Aldrich. Richard Morgan, bargeman, complains against William Stonor, of Watlington Park, that by reason of the insufficiency of Cleeve Lock, which ought to have been maintained by Stonor, he had his barge cast away, with some ammunition belonging to the State. Call the above persons before you, examine such witnesses as they can produce, and return their examinations to us."

March 16. "Council of State to Major Evelyn, Governor of Wallingford Castle. There being several brass ordnance in your garrison, which may be spared for supplying the navy, deliver them to Commissary John Phipps, to be brought to the Tower."

April 6. "Major-General Harrison to Commissary John Phipps. For bringing brass ordnance from Wallingford Castle to the Tower, and trying to take up ammunition cast away, in coming from Wallingford, £20."

April 19. "To Thomas Dodson, for bringing brass ordnance and ammunition 46 tons 8 cwt., in his barge from Wallingford to the Tower, £11."

July 23. "Major-General Thomas Harrison to Richard Morgan. On account for taking up ammunition cast away

at Cleeve Lock, in its conveyance from Wallingford Castle to the Tower, £20."

November 17. "Council of State. Day's proceedings: Wallingford Castle to be demolished, and the works effectually slighted, and the doing thereof committed to Major Evelyn, Edward Jennings of Long Wittenham, county Berks, and John Rusden, who are hereby empowered to put it into execution. For defraying the charge thereof, they are to sell the huts, magazine house, drawbridges, and whatever else was built there by the late king's party while they possessed that garrison; if any money is left after defraying the charge of demolishing, it is to be disposed of, amongst such of the poor thereabouts as had any wrong done them by the king's party from that garrison. Lord Commissioner Whitelock, Mr. Holland, Mr. Neville, and Mr. Martin, to be a committee to examine the account of Major Evelyn, and make him fit allowances for his charges about the Castle. Major Evelyn to make sale of the biscuit and salt remaining in his hands, belonging to the garrison of Wallingford Castle, and dispose of the proceeds therefrom and from the sale of the materials and fortifications of Wallingford Castle, and of the houses erected therein by the late king's party, as also of the money in his hands advanced by the Army Committee for buying provisions for that Castle, towards the demolishing of the Castle and fortifications, and to charge it to his account, which he is to bring to the committee appointed for that purpose."

November 19. "David Jenkins to be removed from Wallingford Castle to Windsor Castle, by Major Evelyn, the present governor thereof."

It appears that a conspiracy had been discovered in this year (1652) for delivering the Castle of Wallingford into the hands of the king's friends, and to set the prisoners at liberty, for which one of the soldiers belonging to the garrison was tried by a court-martial, and, being found guilty, was sentenced to be hung to the gibbet by his thumbs,* a species of torture unheard of in modern times. This conspiracy probably hastened the doom of the Castle. The order for its demolition is couched in the following terms:—

* Whitelock's "Memorials."

[An Exact Copy of the Original.]

"Gentlemen,

"The Councell haveing taken into consideracion the present state of affaires, and thereupon finding it necessary, that as many of the Inland Guarrisons as can conveniently be spared, be forthwith demolished, as alsoe the request which hath beene made to the Councell on the behalfe of severall of the Inhabitants of the County of Berks, for the demolishing of Wallingford Castle, have thought fit that the said Castle should be forthwith demolished, & the workes thereto belonging effectually slighted; And that the execution thereof should be committed to yo^r especiall care. You are, therefore, upon receipt hereof, desired & Authorised to proceed to the demolishing of the said Castle of Wallingford and the workes and fortifications thereto belonging. And for the defraying of the charge w^ch shall accrue upon the doeing of what is herein required, You are to make sale of the Materialls belonging to the said Castle & Fortifications, as alsoe of the Hutts, Magazine House, or any other Buildings which were newly erected within the Fortifications of the said Castle, whilst it was held as a Guarrison for the late King, and with the proceeds thereof pay off the Labourers and other persons who shall be employed upon this service, and in case that after the defraying of this charge there shall be any remaynder of money left upon the proceed of the above said materialls & houses, You are to dispose it as you in yo^r judgm^ts shall thinke fit for the reliefe of such of the poore people dwelling thereabouts as suffered by that Guarrison whilst it was held by the late King.

"Signed in y^e Name and by order of the Councell of State appointed by Authority of Parlam^t.

"Wm. Masham, President.

"Whitehall, 18 Novemb^r. 1652.

"E. Jo. Thurlow, cler of the Councell.

(L.S.)

"to Maior Evelyn, Mr. Edw. Jenings, of Long Wittenham, in y^e county of Berks, & Mr. John Rusden."

The State Papers before referred to lead us to suppose

that the demolition of the fortress had been in contemplation, if not resolved on, some months before the date of the order. The frequent directions given to its governor from the beginning of the year, to send to the Tower and other places large quantities of the ordnance, ammunitions and stores that were in it, show an intention to strip the buildings of their more valuable contents, apparently as preliminary to the issuing of the order. We are also led to conclude that many of the buildings that once constituted the Castle were not then in existence, and that most of those that remained were in a ruinous state. This is shown by the small value set upon the materials, and the doubt the order suggests whether they would realize a sufficient sum to meet the expenses of taking down, coupled with the fact that the governor occupied for five years a rented house within the precincts. Still, it is hard to believe that a fortress deemed to be impregnable, and which had withstood successfully siege after siege for nearly seven centuries, and up to a recent period, should now have so lost its character and former grandeur and importance as to be considered scarcely worth the expense consequent on demolition.

A.D. 1655. "A commission of peace was obtained from his Highness the Lord Protector, granted by him for the better government of the borough, and to keep sessions within themselves." It will be seen, under the head "Corporation," *post*, that many changes took place among the members of that body, for political reasons.

CHAPTER VI.

CHARLES II. TO 6 GEORGE II.—1660 TO 1733.

Wallingford House.

FREQUENT reference is made in history to Wallingford House, which acquired notoriety in the time of the Commonwealth, as the place of meeting of the formidable cabal of which Fleetwood and Desborough were the head, and which led to the overthrow of the "Titmouse Prince," Richard Cromwell, who had assumed the protectorship on the death of his father. This great faction was called "The Wallingford House Party," but whence the house itself derived its name is a matter of conjecture. Probably it was named after its possessor, Viscount Wallingford, who obtained his creation in 1603, and was the head of the family of the Knollys, whose connection with the town and Castle has been already shown. The mansion stood on the site of the present Admiralty, in Whitehall, and in January, 1621–22, was sold to George, Marquis, afterwards Duke, of Buckingham.* Sir Thomas Howard, second son of the Earl of Suffolk, was created Lord Howard of Charlton, and Viscount Andover in 1622, and Chamberlain states that his peerage was part of the stipulation his sister, Lady Wallingford, and her husband made with the favourite, Buckingham, on selling him their house at Whitehall. Sir Thomas, as stated before, was Constable of Wallingford Castle. Some think that it was also part of the bargain that the Earl of Somerset and his lady, then prisoners in the Tower of London, should be liberated. On their release taking place, they repaired to Lord Wallingford's house at Greys, in Oxfordshire, where, or at Caversham,

* "State Papers," Lemon, p. 237.

another of his houses, or within a compass of three miles, they were to remain during the king's pleasure.* The duke made Wallingford House his town residence, and after he was slain by the knife of the murderer John Felton, it was the place from which the pretended funeral of the favourite minister proceeded. The king ordered the body to be buried among the illustrious dead in Westminster Abbey, but dared not venture upon a grand public funeral. At ten o'clock on the night of the 18th of September, 1628, a coffin, supposed to contain the corpse, was borne to the abbey, attended by a hundred mourners, and a military guard, with pikes and muskets, lined two sides of the way, beating their drums, but the mourners and the martial music accompanied an empty coffin, for the duke's corpse had been secretly interred the day before. Thus were the voices of a disaffected people friendly to Felton drowned, and the expected disorder prevented. A label stuck on a post in Coleman Street, a few days before the murder, ran thus, and probably showed the popular feeling, "Who rules the kingdom? The king. Who rules the king? The duke (Buckingham). Who rules the duke? The devil." †

In 1632 or 1633, the Admiralty acquired the ownership, and their lordships passed a resolution ‡ in September following, to meet at Wallingford House on the next Friday morning at eight o'clock, and after that, every Tuesday and Thursday in the afternoon at two o'clock. During the protectorate, the offices for granting passes to persons going abroad were kept there; § and it was also occupied by Cromwell's son Richard. Several interesting official papers and letters are dated from Wallingford House, and may be found in the "Calendars" of Bruce and Green. Among them is a letter from Sir Edmund Sawyer to Robert Read, secretary to Mr. Secretary Windebank, which is interesting as showing how the tenants of Berkshire landowners were influenced "for fear or love," in giving their votes at county elections some two centuries ago.

1639, December 13. "I was sent for yesterday by Lord Cottington to engage me for Mr. Secretary, who intends to

* "State Trials," vol. i. p. 263; "Court and Times of James I."
† "Pictorial History of England." ‡ "State Papers," Bruce.
§ "Diary of Samuel Pepys."

stand for knight of the shire of Berks. I told his lordship I would do nothing therein at his request, for Mr. Secretary had power to command all I could do. Mr. Secretary desires it; I cannot undertake much, but I hope by my Lord Craven's tenants, and other my friends in the vale, either for fear or love, I shall be able to make some voices. . . . The election is usually at Abingdon, and the men who dwell near there, and who come in the morning and go home at night, are those who usually carry the business. Our forest men are but a handful in respect of them, and many will make excuses in respect of the long journey and charge. There is near Abingdon my Lady Banbury's tenants at Cholsey, and Alderman Pratt's tenants at Coleshill, who may do some service, and his honour may easily have them. Sir Robert Pye may do his lordship some service with those about Faringdon. I cannot think of any like to stand, unless it be John Fettyplace or Mr. Martyn. When his honour finds who is likely to stand, the best way is to join with the strongest in voices, to have their voices, and he to have his honour's. Sir Richard Harrison and I will meet at Twyford before Christmas, and then we will consult of the best way to further the business." *

1662, October 29. Peter Crabb to Captain Polding. "There will be disturbance in the night, for some desperate persons have sworn to stab or shoot the king. They are to wear plush jackets and plumes, in order not to be suspected. His Majesty must be cautioned to beware of his company and his food. Alderman Timothy Wade is active in the design, and prys into court transactions; also Sir Thomas Alleyn, Thompson, a Parliamentary man in Spitalfields, Harrison of Harrow Alley, and Robert Walley, who are very active, should be secured, and Colonel Kiffin interrogated." †

In 1694, Wallingford House was pulled down, and Admiralty offices were built on its site. The articles of agreement with the builder, John Evans, together with the specification, are among the Treasury Papers under that date. In a subsequent agreement, there is a provision for the erection of a building one story high, flat and covered with lead, with a "mondition cornice," fronting the street

* "Calendar of State Papers," Bruce, 1639, p. 161.

† "Calendar of State Papers," Green, p. 112.

from Charing Cross to Whitehall, "for the better ornament thereof, a space being left, with pillars in the nature of a piazza, for convenience of dry walking." *

A.D. 1660, 1 Charles II.

Notwithstanding the violent measures which were resorted to against the Earl of Berks, our high steward remained true to the Royalists, and was one of the late king's party who "signed a declaration which much facilitated † the restoration of Charles II." And now the earl began to reap the fruits of his loyalty. On the 4th of May, in the above year, Lord Berkshire was in his place in Parliament, and was added to the Committee of Privileges, ‡ and two days after he was appointed one of the committee of eight peers, "to consider and receive information where any of the king's goods, jewels, or pictures were, and to advise of some course how the same may be restored to his Majesty." § He was also on the committee "for the reception of the king, and for placing of such servants in Whitehall as may conduce to the safety of his Majesty." At the same time, he was made a privy councillor; and at the king's coronation, which took place on St. George's Day, the 23rd of April, 1661, he was associated with the Dukes of Buckingham and Albemarle, and the Earl of Sandwich, and, as Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, held with them over the king's head, at the time of unction, a rich pall of cloth of gold. ||

Soon after the Restoration, petitions were presented to the king from Wallingford, complaining of the damage and desolation done to the town and to individuals during the civil war; although few Parliamentary grants appear to have been made, the charters which the king granted, and the several orders and certificates which are recorded, show that the town received its full share of the royal favour.

The following were among the petitions presented: ¶—

June, 1660. By William Whitehead, of Wallingford, late of Winchester, army commissary, for redress, having ad-

* "Calendar of Treasury Papers," by Joseph Redington.

† Clarendon. ‡ Lords' Journals. § Ibid.

|| Kennett's "Register," p. 417.

¶ Chiefly taken from the "Calendar of State Papers," by Green, Domestic Series.

vanced money for clothes to the soldiers, and having been injured by non-payment, and by sequestration to the amount of £2000, and for his sufferings he claimed another £500. It was ordered that Barnaby Love, receiver of the estate of Michael Love, convicted of treason, pay him £500, which he advanced; and he had a reference for a messenger's place, but they were all full.

August, 1660. By Richard Stevens, for a grant to himself and his son of the bailiwick of the Honor of Ewelme, void by the death of Richard Libb, who also collected the rents of Wallingford manor, with fees of £10 and £4 11*s.* 3*d.* a year.

Same date. By Thomas Harwood, B.D., for the prebend in Durham Cathedral void by the death of George Morecroft, the grounds being that he attended the late king in the north from 1642 to 1646, when, on the surrender of Wallingford Castle, Sir John Hotham deprived him both of temporal and spiritual estate.

November, 1660. By the mayor and burgesses of the borough, for an order to restore the burgesses who were ejected from their office during the Commonwealth for their loyalty, which received the king's favourable attention. (See title "Corporation," *post.*)

November, 1661. By Michael Mullins, for relief, in consequence of his house at Wallingford having been burnt down in the wars.

15th November, 1661. Reference to the Lord Treasurer for a privy seal for £4000, for which lands in Shotover were secured to the said Michael Mullins by the late king, he having lost £6000 by his house at Wallingford being burnt down; with particular recommendation of the petitioner for his constant loyalty, etc.

29th January, 1662. Warrant to pay Michael Mullins £2000, as a gift, in consideration of his great losses by the garrison at Wallingford during the late distractions. On the 2nd of February following, another warrant was issued to pay him £2000, without account, in consideration of his sufferings and damages by the garrison at Wallingford.

January, 1661. By Edmund Bostock, for the place of registrar to the commission appointed for wine licences, his late father, Thomas Bostock, of Abingdon, being slain at

Wallingford in service of the late king. With note in his favour by the Earl of Lincoln and Sir Thomas Willoughby. Reference thereon to the Lord Treasurer, annexing a certificate by Thomas Paine, mayor, and others, of Abingdon, of the loyalty and sufferings in the late war, of Thomas Bostock.

20th April, 1663. By Robert Brown, for redress, annexing a certificate by William Loader and nine other inhabitants of Wallingford, that Brown had a house worth £100, near the Castle, taken down by order of Colonel Blagge, the governor for the late king, the materials of which were sold, without any compensation to him, when the Castle was demolished in Oliver's time.

22nd May, 1663. By Dorothy Thompson, of Wallingford, widow, for recompense for her furnishing the late king's army with beds in Wallingford Castle, and keeping the soldiers half a year at her own cost; and that she may have the very next alms-room that becomes void in Ewelme. Petition granted, and order made.

16th June, 1663. By the mayor and burgesses, for a renewal of their charter, according to the tenor of that at Winton, on the ground of their being inconvenienced because they only enjoyed their several immunities, etc., by prescription, according to the charters formerly granted to Winton. Next year, the new charter (15 Charles II.), which is now the governing charter, except in so far as it has been repealed by the Municipal Corporations Act, was granted. (See under heading "Corporation," *post*.)

Two years before, a warrant was issued which anticipated the desire of the inhabitants, and ordered the former charters to be confirmed. An account of the disbursements of Francis Dayes and Gilbert Crouch, "about the charter of Wallingford," appears in the Statute-Book, under date 1667.

In the year 1661, the fee farm rent of £42, due to the king, was remitted to £15 for the term of one year; and on the 14th of May, 1662, William Cooke (mayor in 1660) rendered his account of several sums of money laid out by him touching the late purchase of the fee farm rent and other matters; and certain corporate property was demised to him to enable him to repay himself.

During the Commonwealth, and the early part of the

reign of Charles II., many tradesmen, for convenience, and owing to the scarcity of the current coins of small amount, made their own pence, half-pence, and farthings, in brass or copper—tokens, as they were called. The earliest private token in brass or copper bears date 1648; and in such large quantities and varieties were these pieces, particularly half-pence, issued, as at one time nearly to supplant the national coinage. Eventually, their issue was stopped by royal proclamation, dated from Whitehall, December, 1674, followed by a more stringent one in the following February, which ordered the prosecution of all offenders. Nearly every individual trader had a separate device, and often in accordance with the signs which it was the custom of the time to hang over the entrances of their shops. Although these proclamations were accompanied by a more liberal circulation of the royal coinage, yet the popular want was not sufficiently supplied, and we find that at Wallingford and elsewhere the subsequent use of them at a later period was resorted to, as explained hereafter.

Another circulating medium, of a less expensive character, and of earlier date, was afforded by the tokens cast in lead, of which a considerable number, of various sizes, were found here a few years ago on removing the floor of the old prison under the town hall; others of a different type have been discovered in different parts of the town and neighbourhood. "These graduated pieces in lead, we may well imagine," says Mr. Roach Smith,* "to have been issued by private persons as tokens for local circulation. In the sixteenth century leaden tokens were very generally used by tradespeople." Simple devices, such as a star, a cross, a shield, or a hand, were generally impressed on one side, and on the reverse rudely figured letters. Sometimes a single letter, probably the initial of the coiner, is the only emblem. These leaden pieces appear to have been in use at an earlier period than their more costly substitutes.

Abbey pieces, or counters, of which a vast number have been discovered in the town, probably served the same purpose. They are mostly of a larger size than the tokens already described, and much thinner, and have a somewhat elaborate device, difficult to understand, though apparently symbolizing some religious usage or institution.

* *Journal of the Archæological Association*, i. 212.

The cross appears in various forms, encircled by unintelligible legends. Mr. Roach Smith * gives the following extracts from the parish account-book of St. Peter, Mancroft, in Norwich, relating to this class of tokens, which show the manner in which they were made at that place, and the uses to which they were applied. The pieces, however, found at Wallingford, are, with few exceptions, made of some mixed metal, and not of lead :—

	£	s.	d.
1632. Paid for moulds to cast tokens in...	0	4	0
1633. To Norman, for leaden tokens ...	0	0	6
1640. To Thomas Turner, for 300 tokens	0	3	0
1644. Howard the plomer, for tokens ...			
1659. To Goodman Tenton for cuttinge a mould for the tokens	0	2	6
1680. Widow Harwood, for lead tokens...	0	5	0
1686. For tokens bought and herbs for the church	0	2	6
The following is an account of the receipts, by tokens, of the communicants at various times :—			
1682. Paid for bread and wine, more than received by tokens	0	19	1
1683. Ditto ditto	0	15	1
1685. Received by tokens	3	0	11½
1687. Received by tokens at ten communions in the same year	3	2	3

The counters known by the name Nuremberg, from having been struck there, are also frequently found in and near Wallingford. Some of those we have represent a person employed in the arithmetical process of counting, for which these pieces were used.

Although it appears that this copper, brass, or leaden substitute for legal money was very generally resorted to during the period named, we are not to suppose that it had its origin at that time. Akerman conjectures that these pieces —referring, we presume, to those in lead—and the Abbey pieces, may have been used in mercantile establishments, or by keepers of inns or taverns, long before the time of the

* *Journal of the Archæological Association*, i. 209.

Commonwealth. The imperfection of the monetary system in the Middle Ages, especially with respect to a small coinage for the humbler classes, led to repeated legislative enactments, with a view to improve an admittedly defective system; and we are told that, in the reign of Richard II., it was no unusual occurrence for the poor man to spoil his penny (probably by cutting it in half) in order to make one half-penny. Nevertheless, the grievance continued or was only partially removed; and hence, in the emergency that arose, the traders were forced to coin their own small money, to meet the requirements of their business; and although a check was put to the practice in 1674, it was revived in the reign of George III.; and so recently as the year 1835, Mr. Champion, a grocer and ironmonger in the neighbouring village of Nettlebed, in an extensive way of business, coined his own half-pence in copper; the piece bearing on the reverse a neatly executed figure in armour on horseback, appropriately representing a champion.

The tradesmen's copper coinage of the later date was vastly superior to that of any former period.

The following brass pieces in connection with this borough are the more noteworthy; all of them are in the collections of Mr. W. R. Davies and others at Wallingford:—

Obverse—John Angier.-Iron [the Ironmonger's Arms]
Reverse—Monger in Wallingford I.A 1669 } Farthing.

O.—James Anslow at y^e^ Georg = [St. George and the Dragon]
R.—In Wallingford 1669 = His halfpenny $I\overset{A}{\times}A$ } Half-penny.

O.—Thomas Applegat at y^e^ [a crown]
R.—Crown in Dorchester 1669 His halfe penny $T\overset{A}{\times}E$ } Half-penny.

O.—Anthony Bovlter = [the Grocer's Arms]
R.—In Wallingford A.B 1664 } Farthing.

O.—John Buckland = a chandler
R.—In Wallingford = I.M.B } Farthing.

O.—Philip Eldred Apothecary [Family arms: on a bend raguly, three bezants]
R.—Of Wallingford 59 $\overset{\times E \times}{P \times A}$ } Farthing.

O.—William Eliot at the = His halfpenny *R.*—In Wallingford 1669 [elephant with castle on its back]	Half-penny.
O.—Ion Goodwin Draper [Family arms: a lion rampant between three fleur-de-lys] *R.*—In Wallingford I G	Farthing.
O.—Ann Hall of = [Arms: two chevrons, on the upper one a crescent] *R.*—Wallingford 1652 H	Farthing.
O.—Samuell Pearce = [St. George and the Dragon] *R.*—Of Wallingford P	Farthing.
O.—Tho Phips of = [Arms of London; outside three doves] *R.*—Wallingford T.S.P 1664	Farthing.
O.—William Polhampton = [Three Castles, two and one] *R.*—Of Wallingford 1668 = His halfpenny W.P	Half-penny.
O.—William Quelch of = [a roll of cloth] *R.*—Of Wallingford Berkshire = His halfpenny 1669	Half-penny.
O.—Thomas Rusden = [three sugar-loaves] *R.*—In Wallingford T.A.R	Farthing.
O.—Richard White of = [a mermaid] *R.*—Wallingford 1669 = His halfepenny	Half-penny.
O.—Silvanus Wiggins y^e^ = [a lamb] *R.*—In Wallingford 69 W.	Half-penny.

A.D. 1664, 16 Charles II. In September it was ordained, at a Court of the Council, "that from henceforth and for ever, all tolls, piccage, tollage, and duties arising out of the fairs and markets of the borough, shall go to the use of the mayor, burgesses, and commonalty, their successors and assigns, for the public benefit of this borough. That the mayor for the time being shall be allowed yearly thereout £10 for his public entertainment, and the bailiffs 40*s.* for the like purpose, and that what other expenses the mayor shall be put to shall be allowed him out of the common stock." *

* Statute-Book.

Between the years 1664 and 1673, no entry appears in the Statute-Book, showing what sums were realized from the tolls and profits of the markets and fairs. In the last-mentioned year, they were leased for £150 per annum; in 1678 for £65 5*s.*; and in 1681 they sank to £61. In the year 1684, the practice of selling corn by samples, instead of pitching it in the market, appears to have been first introduced by the farmers, probably for the purpose of avoiding the payment of the usual tolls. They did not profit by the movement, for in the next year the tolls were let at £76; and in 1686 the corporation made an order, and gave notice, that no grain should be sold in the market except the sacks were pitched for the space of one hour at the least, under the forfeiture of 3*s.* 4*d.* for every omission to comply with the order, and regulations were also made as to the collecting and recovery of the tolls. This public notice seems to have had the desired effect of increasing the receipts; for in 1687 the letting per annum rose to £88, and in 1700 to £115, which is the highest recorded amount the tolls ever reached, and was probably due to a resolution of the corporation, adopted in September in that year, "that tolls be taken for all sorts of corn and grain and other tollable things, every day of the week;" the sums afterwards varying from £92 per annum, to £60 in the year 1723, to £50 in 1739, to £40 in 1741, and £30 in 1749. This gradual decrease continued till the year 1758, when they produced no more than the trifling sum of £5 per annum, soon after which all toll arising from the sale of grain ceased altogether, the market having become wholly a sample one. This result was not attained without opposition on the part of the corporation, who insisted on a more regular payment of toll, and came to a resolution, "to support the tollman, if opposed or refused his dues." The farmers were obdurate, disputed the claim, and obliged the corporation to consult the opinion of counsel as to whether the taking of toll under the altered circumstances was authorized by the existing charter. As no legal steps appear to have been taken, we may suppose the opinion was adverse to the corporate body, who ultimately abandoned the claim altogether.

The tolls, however, taken at the fairs still remain, and averaged for many years about £8 per annum; they have lately been let for £10.

A.D. 1666. A pestilence occurred in Wallingford about this time. Robert Scrivener, writing on the 29th of June to James Hickes, a brother official, states, "There was a mistake in the *Gazette*. It was 83, not 42 persons who died between the 13th and the 20th of June; the number 19 of the plague is right. The troops have gone to Lowestoft. Three persons have died at Wallingford of the sickness." *

Mary Blagge, writing to Mr. Godolphin,† "begs a place for John Snelling, as lieutenant in Yarmouth, under Lord Richardson, who is willing to have him, as being a relation of Mr. Blagge, and having served under him at Wallingford."

A.D. 1669, 16th March. At a meeting of the council, it was ordered that the guildhall and market-house shall "be removed and built on some of the ground lately purchased of James Leaver, on the south ‡ side of the church called St. Mary's Church, and that for the doing thereof the chamberlain is ordered to lay out not exceeding —— pounds." §

The finances of the corporation must have been at a low ebb at the time of the rebuilding of the guildhall, for in the month of April, 1671, appears the following minute:—"At a common council, we, whose names are subscribed, do engage to lend, for the use of the borough, £3 apiece without interest." A list of fifteen subscribers follows, headed by the mayor. In September in the same year, it was ordered "that certain workmen, employed in building the new town hall, butchers' shambles, etc., be paid by the corporation, and the mayor be indemnified from the same."

In the year 1670, the meetings of the corporation were held within the parish church of St. Mary.

Several pages of disbursements by the chamberlain follow from 1669 to 1676, the more considerable payments being for timber and other building materials; but as the account comprises the general expenditure of the borough, the outlay on the new guildhall cannot be easily ascertained.

A.D. 1671. The following extract from the Statute-Book refers to the means adopted to keep out the plague, with which the adjoining parishes of Crowmarsh and Newnham were visited in this year:—

"Wallingford. The 7th daye of December, 1671, wardens

* "Calendar of State Papers," Green. † Ibid. ‡ *Sic.*
§ Statute-Book, p. 50.

were sett at the greate bridge, to keepe out all Crowmarsh and Newenham people out of Wallingford, wch contyneued untill the xiiijth daie of Marche then next after, for there dyed of the plague in the two parishes sixteene persons of men, wymen, and children, in three months, and then ceased (thankes bee given to God), but many other were sicke, and infected there, with sores, whereoff some did breake, and others had greate swellings rising about there bodies, and did sinke again and not breake, and yet did recover their health again. And throwe God's mercie, our Towne of Wallingford was preserved. To God be given all glorie theirfoure." *

A.D. 1672, 20th January, 23 Charles II. It is recorded at a council meeting, that Michael Knight, Esq., son and heir of Henry Knight, Esq., of St. James's, Clerkenwell, deceased, out of a pious disposition to the poor of the borough, agreed to give £10 a year for teaching twelve poor boys in the free grammar school of the borough, and therefore he elected twelve poor boys, whose names appear in the Statute-Book. Provision is therein made for electing other boys in case of death, but nothing further is recorded respecting this annuity.

There is a curious old chest, bound with iron, and secured by locks of singular construction, now in the upper chamber of the guildhall, the age of which is unknown. It appears to have been in existence at this time (1672), an order having been given to the town clerk to get, "all those locks, and all other necessaries to the same, and the trunks, repaired and made fit." †

A.D. 1675, 16th January. A petition from the mayor and corporation of this date states that a "sudden and most dreadful fire had consumed most of the houses in the borough."

A.D. 1681, 32 Charles II. In this year, William Angier and Mary his sister built and endowed the almshouse near the entrance to the town, on the east side of the road leading to Reading, which is mentioned under the heading "Charities." Over the door is an escutcheon, with a griffin, the arms of the founders, and the following inscription:—

"This hospital was built and endowed for the relief of six

* Statute-Book, p. 114. † Ibid., p. 81.

poore people, by Mr. William Angier and Mary his sister, A.D. 1681."

The male donor was a burgess of the borough, and was probably the son of John Angier, who was an ironmonger in the town, and whose farthing tokens are dated 1669. Some members of the family in the time of Henry VIII. appear to have been resident in the neighbouring village of West Hagbourne. In the middle of the chancel in the church of that liberty is a marble gravestone, whereon is the figure of a man in a gown, and his wife dressed in the fashion of her times, and under them is this inscription—

"Of your charitie pray for the soulles of John Angyer and Alys his wife, wch departed this present life to the mercy of Almighty God, the xxxi[st] yeare of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lord King Henry the VIII., on whose soulles Jhesu have mercy." *

A.D. 1684. The custom of ringing a bell before the commencement of business in the market dates back to this year, when it was ordered, at a council meeting, that no corn or grain should be sold before the market bell should ring, under a fine of 6*s.* 8*d.*

The charter granted to the town in the earlier part of this reign was surrendered at the instance of the king, and a new one granted, the object apparently being to confer larger powers on the king and his partizans. (See *post*, title "Corporation.")

A.D. 1688, 3 James II.

At the close of this year, William, Prince of Orange, who had married the Princess Mary, daughter of James II., was at Wallingford with his army, on his way to London to claim the crown. The constable's bill on the occasion, amounting to £17 6*s.*, was, at a council meeting held on the 21st of August in the next year, after the prince had been raised to the throne, ordered to be paid by the chamberlain out of the corporation stock, as being "an extraordinary charge." † It was on the 5th of November, 1688, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, that the prince landed at Torbay, having been invited to England, as the great defender of the Pro-

* "Antiquities of Berks," by Elias Ashmole, 1723.

† Statute-Book, p. 152.

testant cause, to rescue the kingdom from Popery and the king's misgovernment. He brought with him a large army from Holland, but at first few of the malcontents joined his standard. Afterwards the defection from the king's cause became more general.

At the Berkshire town of Hungerford, which he reached on the 6th of December, a sharp encounter * took place between two hundred and fifty of his troops and six hundred Irish, who were stationed at Reading. Though greatly outnumbered, the superior discipline of the invaders was more than a match for the king's forces, who were driven in confusion through the streets of the town, into the market-place, where an attempt to rally was ineffectually made. Attacked by the prince's troops in front, and fired on by the inhabitants of the town from the windows of the neighbouring houses, the Irish lost heart and fled, with the loss of their colours and fifty men.

It was to this town that the king's commissioners came, with a proposition that the points in dispute should be referred to the Parliament, and that in the mean time the prince's army should not come within thirty or forty miles of London. The prince was disposed to listen to the king's overtures, but his adherents entirely rejected them, and we are told by Macaulay that a whole day was spent in bickering. From Hungerford, he made his way, through Abingdon, to Wallingford, evidently with an unsettled and uneasy feeling; probably an apprehension that some of his followers were wanting in fidelity, or that the king's power had not been subdued; for, on his reaching the latter town, the question of re-establishing the fortress there was gravely discussed, as we gather from Hearne, in the following extract. The aspect of affairs, however, had become more reassuring, and any such measure of precaution as that suggested was deemed unnecessary. It is not unlikely that the intelligence of the king's flight from London, on the 9th or 10th of December, may have reached the prince at this place, and influenced him in abandoning the contemplated action, and in pursuing his journey to London, whither he proceeded by taking the right bank of the Thames. The king, however, was not yet out of England, but was proceeding down the river in a vessel,

* Macaulay.

which some fishermen boarded, expecting to find therein some State offenders escaping from the country; thus the king was taken, and lodged at Whitehall, but soon afterwards an opportunity was afforded him of getting away to France. Lord Chancellor Jeffries also absconded, and was found, disguised as a common sailor, in an alehouse at Wapping. His committal to the Tower speedily followed. In the meanwhile, some of the assembled peers declared for the prince, and, after a protracted discussion on the question of regency, the crown of England, having fallen from the head of the late king, was settled on his son-in-law the prince, and his daughter the Princess of Orange.

Some years afterwards (28th December, 1713), Mr. Hearne was at Wallingford, and thus refers to the prince's visit.* "On the west side [north-east] of the town of Wallingford, stood the Castle, whereof there are now no remains, excepting a very small part in the bottom, which they style the dungeon, being used as a gaol sometimes. But the kepe of the Castle is still in being, and is very high, and is encompassed with a large ditch, tho' now pretty much filled up, as are the other works. I was at the top of the kepe, and afterwards talking with Mr. Wiggins, and commending to him the situation of the place, he was pleased to tell me that he lived in the same house where he lives now (being the sign of the Lamb), at the late Revolution, and that the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Schomberg, etc., dined at his house as they came from Abingdon in their way to London, whither the prince was then going to take possession of the crown. He said that the prince being in some fear at that time of King James's army, and being under apprehension that the people would not stand firm to him, he consulted with Duke Schomberg about a sufficient place of security, provided there should be any opposition, and that upon this the duke surveyed this place, particularly the kepe, very wisely, and afterwards reported to his Highness, and assured him that he knew no place in the world better situated than Wallingford for a defence; and that in twenty-four hours he could make this place so strong as to hold out against a good force for some time, and that in three weeks' time he could render it altogether impregnable, so as no army whatsoever should be

* "Reliquiæ Hearnianæ," vol. i. pp. 300, 301.

able to take it; at least not without a vast loss, and a great deal of time spent in a siege. But they afterwards found that there was no manner of occasion for any such attempt." In a note, Hearne adds, "Sylvanus Wiggins was the landlord of the inn known by this sign, and still existing. He had been a great traveller, and discoursed much with T. H. on the subject of antiquities." In 1709, he is described in the Statute-Book as Silvanus Wiggins the elder, of the house formerly known by the name of the Bell, and now of the Lamb.

A.D. 1689, 1 William and Mary.

In October, a sum of £70 was given by some of the inhabitants, for buying a fire-engine, and setting up a common pump in the market-place.* Here we get an indication of the origin of the well that supplies the existing pump, whose functions for domestic purposes have been nearly extinguished by the impurity of the water it serves.

A.D. 1696, 2 William III. The assizes were held at Wallingford in this year. In the Statute-Book is noted the allowance of a bill of £36 19*s.* 8*d.*, incurred by the corporation "for expenses or repairs for the market-houses, and other necessary charges, for the judge and his retinue."

The following bill was also allowed:—

	s.	*d.*
Ann Hare's bill for bruing y^e^ Judge's bear ...	1	6
Ditto, for bruing the Judge's bear and grinding the moult	3	4

An interesting article has lately appeared in the *Reading Mercury*, headed "Assizes in the Olden Times," and signed I. I. P. It gives extracts from an old manuscript note-book, which was kept by Mr. Justice Rokeby, a judge in the reign of William and Mary, and who died in November, 1699.

The following extract refers to Wallingford and the Oxford circuit:—

In the summer of 1696 he went the Oxford circuit again. This time the course of the circuit was Wallingford (for Berks), Oxford, Gloucester, Monmouth, Hereford, Worcester, Stafford, and Shrewsbury. The number of causes

* Statute-Book.

entered was 226, of which 177 were tried, and the judge records, "I was out of purse in the whole (above all y^t^ came in) above 54 lb.," which he makes out thus—

	£	s.	d.
Coach hire	24	10	0
Travelling charges	12	0	0
My share of housekeeping	11	0	0
Hire of two horses and their meat ...	7	8	0
	54	18	0

Here is a curious note respecting a sheriff of Oxfordshire: —"Wm. Neville, junr., Esq., sheriff, a young raw man, his father living, a great husbandman (but said to have 1000 lb. per ann.). Y^e^ father was put on to be sheriff, but he procured his son's name to be putt into y^e^ patent (as I was informed). This was his 2nd son; and I was told he omitted his eldest son, because he said he could not spare him from y^e^ plow."

A.D. 1697, December. An address to his Majesty was adopted by the council upon the happy conclusion of a peace, and it was resolved "that Mr. Mayor is to carry up to London the same, and is to take along with him such persons as he shall think fit, at the expense of the corporation."

Amongst the items of disbursement by William Stevenson, chamberlain, from Michaelmas, 1697, to Michaelmas, 1698, are—

	s.	d.
P^d^ for ringing, when peace was proclaimed ...	5	0
P^d^ for pipes and tobaco and candels, on y^e^ thanksgiving	6	2½

In August, 1698, the assizes were again held at Wallingford, and the expenses attending the same, chargeable to the corporation, amounted to £27 15*s.* 5*d.*, of which the sum of £9 11*s.* 10*d.* was collected by the innkeepers, and was ordered to be paid to the persons to whom it was due. There is also in the Statute-Book—

	s.	d.
P^d^ Goody Hart, brewing the Judge's bere and grinding y^e^ moult	3	4
P^d^ for candell-sticks at the assize	6	11

The "Calendar of Treasury Papers" * (November 2) gives us a Report of the Commissioners of Customs to the Lords of the Treasury, on the petition of Francis Barry, of Kensington, gent, praying for employment, enclosing a scheme of his to prevent the frauds practised on the Thames above the bridge westward as far as Wallingford; which they so far approved as to be inclined to try the experiment, and proposed to allow him £100 or £120 per annum for himself, horses, and servants, and the use of the coasting boats above the bridge. Minuted, "Approved for one year, at 120li without incidents, and the commissioners to report at the year's end what service is done, before he be further continued. Wt signed."

A.D. 1699, 5 William III. The quarter sessions for the county, called the flying sessions, were occasionally held here at the discretion of the magistrates. An order was made by the corporation in September in this year, that "the justices of the peace for the county of Berks be entertained and treated at the quarter sessions by Mr. Mayor at the charge of that body." (See under heading "Corporation," *post.*)

A.D. 1700. Contemporaneously with the improved receipts from tolls in this year, we find the corporate body renewing a lease of certain houses and premises to Mr. Richard Lane, for a term of fifty-one years, at, apparently, the inadequate fine of £5, one leathern bucket, and a treat.

A.D. 1703, 1 Queen Anne.

At a Court of Common Council, held on the 26th of August, a deed of bargain and sale, under the common seal, passed to John French, one gelding and one bridle, being the goods of Samuel Tull, lately condemned in the Court of Record, ats Abraham King.†

This system of condemnation seems to have been an ancient custom in the borough, as there are several instances recorded where it was observed. In 1705, in an action against the mayor, town clerk, and one of the sergeants-at-mace, "upon account of an attachment issued out of the Court of Records of the borough, against a lighting boat of James Jeffs ats Abraham Pocock, the boat was legally condemned according to the ancient course and custom of the said court."

* By Joseph Redington, p. 237. † Statute-Book, p. 202.

In June, 1705, the mayor was requested to write to the recorder, and thank him "for his kind offer to help the borough to the next assizes," and the usual provision was ordered to be made for the reception of the judges.

The negligence of the corporation in paying the fee farm rent to Mr. Phipps, led to a distress being levied in 1706 on the goods and chattels of the mayor, which was followed by an order of the council to pay the same, together with the charges of the distress. This seems to be inconsistent with the entry in the Corporation Book, *ante*, p. 171, as to the purchase.

Addresses and petitions to the throne in the sixteenth century and subsequently, seem to have been invariably presented in person by the mayor and others of his colleagues. Several instances are recorded. In 1707, an address to Queen Anne, in reference to the union between the two kingdoms of England and Ireland, was ordered to be "presented by the mayor, and such as think fit to attend him may go at the corporation expense."

In the same year (July 17, 1707), the council ordered an abatement to be made of £3 1*s.* 7*d.* to Nicholas Langford, the late tollman, out of his rent for the tolls for the markets and fairs, "in regard of the corporation being very much visited and afflicted with small-pox."

In 1708, disputes arose between the borough and the hundred of Moreton, in which the borough is situated. Several warrants were issued by the justices of the county, and served on the high constables of the hundred, for the impressing of carriages for her Majesty's service. The high and petty constables, refusing to obey the warrants, were bound over to appear at the next assizes. After a recital in the council minutes to the above effect, it was ordered "that the mayor do prosecute the persons so bound over at the charge of the corporation." The nature of the dispute is not explained nor how it ended, but by a subsequent entry in the same year, whereby it appears the mayor was to be indemnified for "justifying, maintaining, and defending his office of mayoralty," we may suppose it involved some question of jurisdiction.

In August, 1709, a lease of the lock water, "for ninety-nine years, at the rent of 10*s.* per annum, a treat to the corpora-

tion, and one leathern bucket," was granted to Jeremiah Lane; the latter covenanting "to erect a lock and mills within the space of two years, and to indemnify the corporation from any damage which may happen to arise by reason of the erecting of such lock and mills, either to the bridge or otherwise;" in case of default, the grant to be void. This occurred, and the lease was vacated. Eight years afterwards a like grant of the "lock water and weare beds" was made to Isaac Alibone, subject to a similar covenant for building the mills, with a reservation that any of the corporate body should have liberty to angle for fish in the demised water, and with a stipulation as to the tolls for grinding corn brought from the borough or over the bridge. At the end of the two years, Alibone was discharged from his agreement for building the mills, "upon his treating the corporation, and providing six good buckets, and paying all necessary expenses."

Another attempt to secure the erection of corn-mills was made in 1723, when it was proposed, at a council meeting, that a lease should be granted to William Hucks, Esq., and Mr. Thomas Tew for ninety-nine years, at 6*s.* 8*d.* annual rent, on condition that certain mills be built within two years; and there is the usual stipulation for a treat and two buckets.

At a council meeting held on the 28th of April, 1710, the Rev. Samuel Shenton, "minister of the same borough" (Wallingford), was requested to draw up an address to her Majesty, with Alderman Blackall. It would, therefore, seem that the several parishes in the borough had been united, pursuant to the prayer of the corporation, in a petition to King William III. and Queen Mary, in 1693.

In September, 1711, and April, 1713, the expenses of the assizes, which were held at Wallingford in those years, were defrayed by the corporation. In the latter case the amount allowed was £20 2*s.* 6½*d.*

Both before and after Queen Anne's reign, a gift of buckets and a treat to the corporation were the almost invariable conditions on which leases and renewals of the corporate property were granted. The buckets were for use in cases of fire, and the number possessed by that body in 1720 (6 George I.) was fifty-four, "and two were wanting."

Robert Hucks, Esq., whose family have been long connected with the town and neighbourhood, presented to the

corporation, in 1733, five volumes of the Statutes from Magna Charta, ending George I.; and also a "new privy seal," whereupon "the old privy seal was broken to pieces." *

The Michaelmas sessions for the county were held here in 1745, Lord Barrington being the chairman.

On the 14th of June, 1757, John Bishop, one of the aldermen, tendered his resignation, which the corporation agreed to accept on payment of £10; but "the said John Bishop not being willing to pay the same, and thinking it hard that he should be compelled thereto," it was ordered "that as he hath been of little or no service or assistance to the mayor and aldermen his brethren, in the execution of justice, that the fine be remitted, and the said John Bishop discharged from his office."

On three occasions previous to the above date it appears that the corporation funds were insufficient to pay the mayor's salary of £20, and the same on each occasion was secured by a bond, carrying interest. The financial condition of the body does not appear to have improved in 1761 (October), when the following entry in the Statute-Book occurs:—

"Whereas several persons [nine are named] have signed a note to pay 20*s.* for five years, in order to pay the interest on £360, which the Corporation owe on Bonds and other incidental expenses, it was therefore ordered that there should be a Committee to be consulted by the Mayor, Commonalty, Bailiffs, and Bridgemen, in the disposing of all sums by any of them to be received out of the rents and profits of the Corporation, and that no money be laid out but by the majority of the said Committee."

In the next year, the fact is noted in the Statute-Book "that the then state of the corporation, and the charges both ordinary and extraordinary to which it is subject, require an increase of its funds, and a proper improvement of its estates." Sundry orders were then made by the council for increasing the rents, limiting to forty years the terms for which leases were to be granted, and in which no covenants for renewal were to be inserted. The means adopted produced a beneficial result, for in April, 1763, the order of 1761 was repealed, "it being found by experience that the corporation estates are sufficient to pay the debts that they now owe."

* Statute-Book, p. 305.

CHAPTER VII.

GEORGE II. TO VICTORIA.

From 1733.

NOTHING remarkable occurs in history respecting the town during the reigns of the house of Brunswick. Before, therefore, closing this part of the book with a few general observations bearing on the latter period, we will introduce here some further particulars under the following heads:—The Castle; the Representation of the Town; the Corporation; the Guild; High Steward and Corporate Officers; the Common Seal; Wallingford Bridge; Population—Public Buildings; Charities.

The Castle.

In previous chapters we have considered the origin and antiquity of the Castle, and enough has been said to warrant a belief that there existed here, in the time of the Romans, a fortified encampment, which may have partaken of the castellated form of defence of that day. But, however this may be, it is clear that the town was entirely destroyed by the Danes, was soon afterwards rebuilt, and that the famous Saxon thane, Wigod, received the Conqueror here in great state, probably in a noble structure, that soon afterwards formed part of the Castle which the king ordered to be built. This new Castle, or it may have been a reconstructed old one, with the additions subsequently made, became one of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom. Like most other castles, that of Wallingford was first a fortress, then a royal residence, and in after times a State prison, which ultimately degenerated into a place of confinement for criminals of the

ordinary class. As a fortress, it nobly served its purpose, and maintained its impregnability, at siege after siege, for six centuries. At last, having withstood the attacks of the Parliamentary forces for sixteen weeks, its garrison was obliged to surrender; being the last to yield, except Raglan in Wales, and Pendennis in Cornwall, which escaped assault till a short time afterwards.

As a royal resort and State prison, the Castle has been identified with some of the most stirring and remarkable events in our national history, as mentioned in chronological order in the preceding pages.

Little information can be given regarding the structure itself, no drawing or plans having been discovered; but from the inquisition *temp.* Philip and Mary, the contour of the ground, and other sources, we collect the following details.

The Castle was built within the ancient walls in the north-east quarter of the town, on a piece of ground containing between twenty and thirty acres, and may be said to have overhung the river Thames. "It was very large," says Camden, "and so well fortified in former times, that the hopes of its being impregnable hath made some people over resolute." It appears to have been of an oblong form, with three bastions on the north side and two on the south, the keep intervening between the latter. These fortifications were just within the inner dyke or moat. On the east was the glacis, abruptly sloping towards the river, on the crest of which is the ivy-clad ruin called the Queen's Tower, being now nearly all that remains of this once formidable stronghold. The approach to the fortress was probably at the west end, by drawbridges. The centre moat has visible traces of artificial works of great strength; indeed, traces of all the moats, the bastions, ramparts, and glacis are strongly marked, and are given with great minuteness in the large ordnance map lately published. The Moreton stream, mentioned before, flowing in a considerable volume over the higher ground on the west of the town, afforded an easy means of filling the dykes and flooding the adjoining low lands at pleasure. The river also, in high-water time, probably served a like purpose of flooding. By the inquisition just referred to, it appears the water from this stream was kept back by sluices, and ordered to be turned into the dykes

from Saturday noon up to the following Sunday evening. Till within the last few years, it was maintained at a high level by the corn-mill on the south of the town, to the prejudice of the landowners in the neighbouring parishes of the Moretons, Brightwell, and Sotwell, who, having purchased the mill and acquired, it must be supposed, the water right, removed the obstruction at the mill, and, by allowing a free escape of the water into the river, relieved their lands from floods, and thus drained the dykes, and, to some extent, the rampart ditch.

Leland gives the following description as the result of his own observation in the sixteenth century:—"The Castle joineth to the north gate of the town, and hath three dykes, large and deepe, and well watered. About each of the two first dykes, as upon the crests of the creastes * of the ground cast out of, runneth an embattled wall, now sore in ruin, and for the most part defaced. All the goodly building, with the towers and dungeon, be within the third dyke." Preceding the above sentence is the following: "The town of Wallingford hath been a very notable thing, and well walled. The ditch of the town and the crest whereon the walls stood be yet manifestly perceived, and begin from the Castle, going in compass a good mile and more, and so cometh to Wallingford Bridge, a large thing of stone over the Thamise." †

In the brief account of the town, written by A. C. (Ambrose Cottrell), in the reign of Charles I., entered in the Corporation Ledger, the author observes that "in his time the Castle was encompassed about with two several stone walls, and a *double* moat;" thus differing from Leland in the number of moats. No long interval elapsed between the date of A. C.'s manuscript, in 1517, and Leland's "Itinerary," which was commenced in 1538, seventeen years before his death; and we can only account for the variance between the two authorities by supposing that A. C. referred to the two moats that extended into the town, which was not the case with the inner moat, now so plainly traceable around the site of the Castle. A. C. also remarks that, in the midst of the Castle, on a high hill, is built a tower, and on the top thereof, when you are ascended by certain degrees or steps, you shall see a well of an immense depth. This description corresponds with

* *Sic.* † "Itineraries," vol. ii. fol. 12.

the account given by Camden, who refers to the tower, and adds, "that on the steep ascent of the mount, which was ascended by stairs cut in the side, he observed a well of exceeding depth." He also states that the Castle was environed with a double wall, and that when he and his companions used to visit the buildings without the inner moat over against the hill, which were retiring-places for the students of Christ Church, they could not but wonder at the magnificence of the Castle.

Gough says, "When I visited Wallingford Castle in 1768, the outer west rampart planted with trees, and the outer and inner south ones in garden grounds, were exceeding bold and fresh. The outer north one is in corn-fields, and the east side is single, being defended by the river. This last is broken into by two bastions, or outworks, to which correspond two others on the north side. Some fragments of the walls remain in houses, and part of the east pier of the principal gate on the south-east corner of the inner bank. The keep, of considerable height, falls into the south-east corner of the inner works; the yard of one of the ruined churches is in the west ditch; opposite to the south side of St. Peter's is an old chapel, now a dissenting meeting-house. The banks of the town walls are discernible just without the town, on the Oxford side." *

From the particulars given in the inquisition and elsewhere, we may form a pretty accurate idea of what the keep was in 1555. Built on an artificial eminence of much greater extent than is now presented, it was the citadel or last retreat of the garrison. The mouth of the well, near the top, some thirty or forty feet higher than at present, shows how greatly this mount must have been reduced in size on the north-east. Three sides of it were surrounded by water, and the entrance must have been from the north or inner side, probably through an arched passage on which the superstructure was reared, and which led to the winding stairs spoken of. The approach to these stairs was secured by the "great door with bars of iron," mentioned in the inquisition, and we may conclude there was also the usual protection of a machicolated or pierced gate, through which scalding water or boiling lead might be poured on the assailants. Sixty joists, eight feet

* Gough's Camden, vol. i. p. 158.

long and nine inches square, appear to have been used in covering these stairs, and another "great door with great iron bars" barricaded the upper end of the same stairs. Adjoining this door was a porch about eight feet square, with a floor supported on large-sized joists, which, it seems, was the landing-place for the lower story, and led to the kitchen and the two rooms adjoining, with a chamber over, the two rooms being about ten feet square, and, with the kitchen and chamber, had seven iron-barred windows. There were also two dungeons or prisons "within the same keep, having three windows with bars of iron, three great doors with bars of iron, and four great iron hasps," and a floor with sixty joists, nineteen feet in length and eight inches square. The more important rooms were "the great chamber and the privy chamber," with "four very great iron-barred windows," having a flat roof of timber over the same, with fifty-nine joists, nineteen feet long and eight and ten inches square. The citadel itself is mentioned last, as it naturally would be, in describing the materials available for works elsewhere, from the bottom to the top. It was a building of stone, "with long and winding stairs," having two wards and two gate-houses, and a tower on the top. As the mount is now about sixty feet high, we may imagine what a commanding position this tower must have occupied as a look-out for the enemy.

The subterranean passage from the keep on the south, and the sally-port, or whatever it was, on the opposite side, have been already described. We have made considerable excavations at the top of the keep, in the hope of lighting on the foundations of some of these extensive buildings, but not the least trace of any masonry has been discovered; probably the buildings were more northward. The huge mount, stript of all its former appendages, the few mouldering ruins, and the undulations and entrenchments, are all that remain to give an idea of the strength and extent of this impregnable fortress. At no other stronghold could Cromwell's soldiers have done their work more thoroughly; its lofty towers, its buttresses, and formidable walls, are gone, and its importance is no more; but its fame is indelibly marked on the page of history.

In the beginning of the last century, the Castle precincts were let by the Crown, on lease, to Thomas Renda, Esq.,

who represented the borough of Wallingford in Parliament in the years 1709 and 1712. In this lease mention is made of the prison-house. The estate afterwards came into the possession of William Hucks, Esq., who represented the borough in four succeeding Parliaments; and a portion of it was acquired, by purchase from the Crown, by the late James Blackstone, Esq., whose son, William Seymour Blackstone, inherited the property, and was member for the borough for many years. The other portion was acquired by the late John Allnatt Hedges, Esq., from whom, and by purchase, the author of this work became the possessor of the entire Castle estate.

The following is a list of the Constables of Wallingford Castle, or "Lords," as they were sometimes styled:—

Reign.	Name.	Remarks.
William I. (the Conqueror)...	Robert d'Oiley.	A Norman chief, who came over with the Conqueror, Constable of Oxford Castle and "Baron" of Hocknorton.
	Miles Crispin.	Lord of the Honor of Wallingford in right of Maud his wife, who was the daughter and heiress of Robert d'Oiley.
William Rufus...	Same.	
Henry I.	Same.	
	Maud, his widow.	On Milo's death in 1107; called "Matildis Domina de Wallingford."
	Brian Fitzcount.	On his marriage to Maud in or about the year 1113, called "Marchio de Wallingford."
Stephen	Same.	
	Nigel d'Oiley.	Probably, for a short time.
	Brian Fitzcount.	Reappointed on payment of a fine to the king.
Henry II.		On Brian's surrender of the custody of the Castle to King Henry II., a successor was appointed, but his name is not given in the precept directed to the sheriff, 1 and 2 Henry II., A.D. 1154.
Richard I.	Archbishop of Rouen.	Custodian till the king's return from Palestine. Prince John, brother of Richard I., afterwards King of England, ejected the bishop, and seized the Castle into his own hands.

Reign.	Name.	Remarks.
Richard I.	Eleanor, Queen Dowager.	Custodian for the barons, under a truce.
John	Hubert de Burgh.	Sheriff of Berks and Chamberlain of the king.
	John de Wikenholt.	Sheriff of Berks. By letters patent in the sixteenth year, the custody of the Castle was committed to
	Walter Foliot, Richard Morin, Americ son of Robert Geoffrey de Chausy, Thomas Huscarl, Roger de Stanford, Geoffrey de Apelton, William Basset, Hugh de Druval, and Geoffrey son of Angot; afterwards	
	Prince Richard.	The king's second son.
Henry III.	"The Sheriff of Berks."	This occurs in the second year, but his name is not given in the roll.
	Ranulph de Blundeville, Earl of Chester, Lincoln, and Huntingdon.	Probably a temporary appointment by the barons.
	Philip de Albini.	
	Sheriff of Berks.	In 1227.
	Richard, Earl of Cornwall.	Brother of King Henry III.
	Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester.	Under rebel Government.
	Semanus de Stoke, Lord Richard de Havering, John de Havering, Lord William de Turevil.	Custodians for a short period; they restored the Castle 49 Henry III., with that of Berkhampstead.
	Richard, King of the Romans.	Was absolute owner, and expended vast sums thereon.
	Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, son of Richard, King of the Romans.	
Edward I.	Edmund, Earl of Cornwall.	
	Edmund de Wedone.	In the eighteenth year of this reign.
	Walter de Ailesbury.	In the twenty-seventh year; styled sometimes "Walter de Tapelowe."

Reign.	Name.	Remarks.
Edward II.....	Walter de Ailesbury.	In an inquisition, 2 Edward II., the jurors found that the Castle was in the custody of Walter de Ailesbury from 30 Edward I. until Sunday next before the Feast of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist in 1 Edward II.
	John de Croukyn.	Constable from Sunday above mentioned until Saturday next following.
	John de Clynton.	
	Piers de Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall.	
	Hugh Despenser the younger.	
	Queen Isabella.	Obtained possession of the Castle and honor for her life in the tenth and eleventh year.
	———	A governor, not named, appointed by the rebellious barons.
	Sir Richard d'Amory.	
	Hugh Despenser the younger.	
	Roger Mortimer, afterwards Earl of March.	
	William le Mareschal.	Appointed in the nineteenth year.
Edward III. ...	Same.	Deprived of the office by the Dowager Queen Isabella; restored by the young king.
	Roger Mortimer.	After his execution, the king kept the Castle in his own hands for some time, and then appointed his brother,
	John de Eltham, second son of Edward II., afterwards Earl of Cornwall.	
	John de Stonore.	
	Edward, the Black Prince.	By himself or deputy.
Richard II.....	Albert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, generally called Aubrey.	
	John Beaufort, Marquis of Somerset and Dorset.	In the twentieth year.
	William le Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire, assisted by Sir John Bussey, Sir	Three of the king's creatures and confidants.

Reign.	Name.	Remarks.
	Henry Green, and —— Bagot.	
Richard II.	Henry of Bolingbroke, afterwards Henry IV.	On surrender, by himself or deputy.
Henry IV.	Thomas Chaucer, son of the poet.	
Henry V.	Same.	
		Queen Katherine held the Castle till after the death of the king, by virtue of a settlement made on her.
Henry VI.	Thomas Chaucer.	On his death in 1434, he was succeeded by
	William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk.	
	In 1441, the countess was associated with her husband as constable; and in 1445, the grant of the office was extended to their son John.	
	Duke of Suffolk, late marquis.	His father was then marquis.
	Alice, Duchess of Suffolk.	
Edward IV. ...	John, Duke of Suffolk, son of the last-named duchess.	
	Sir Richard Grey, son of the queen.	
	Francis, Viscount Lovell, afterwards the king's counsellor and chamberlain.	Attainted in 1485.
Richard III. ...	Francis, Lord Lovell.	
Henry VII.....	John, Duke of Suffolk for life.	
	Sir William Stonor and Sir Thomas Lovell for life.	On intended surrender by the Duke of Suffolk.
	Arthur, Prince of Wales.	From whom it descended to Henry VIII.
Henry VIII. ...	Sir NicholasCarewe* in reversion, on vacation by Sir Thomas Lovell, who survived Sir William Stonor.	In 1522.

* At vol. ii. p. 84, Carewe's name is erroneously given as "Michael," and the date of his patent as "6th June" instead of "12th June."

Reign.	Name.	Remarks.
Henry VIII. ...	Henry Norris, Usher of the Black Rod, Squire of the Body to the king, and one of the Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber.	Beheaded in 1536.
Edward VI. ...	Sir Francis Knollys, Knight, for life.	Appointed in 1551.
Mary	Same.	
Elizabeth	Same.	
	Henry Knollys, eldest son of Sir Francis, Esquire of the Body Guard.	In 1578.
	Sir William Knollys, Knight, second son of Sir Francis, afterwards Treasurer of the Queen's Household.	In 1584.
	Sir William Knollys, K.G., created Baron of Rotherfield Greys in 1603, and Viscount Wallingford in 1616.	
James I.	Same.	
	Sir Thomas Howard, Knight, and Charles Howard, Esq., sons of the Earl of Suffolk, for life, in reversion after Lord Knollys.	Appointed in 1610.
Charles I.	William Knollys, Viscount Wallingford, created Earl of Banbury in 1626.	
	Colonel Blagge.	
Commonwealth	Major the Honourable Arthur Evelyn.	Governor appointed by the Parliament.
	Sir Edmund Dunch, the eldest son of Sir William Dunch, M.P. for Wallingford.	He received from his relative, Oliver Cromwell, a patent of peerage, by the title of Lord Barnet of East Wittenham.

On the demolition of the Castle, the office of constable, or

governor, ceased, except as a sinecure for a short period. The stewardship of the Honor of Wallingford and Ewelme continued; the Comptrollers of the Royal Household, after the restoration of the monarchy, executing the authority chiefly by deputy. The following is a list of the names of stewards and their deputies, from the reign of King George I. :—

1725. Richard Toovey, deputy to Richard Carter.
1749. John Toovey, deputy to Edward Simeon.
1754. Francis Yateman, steward.
1766. William Sessions, his deputy.
1773. John Allnatt, deputy.
1775. William Toovey, deputy.
1780. William Andrews, deputy.
1785. Robert Dalzell, deputy.
1789. John Lee, deputy.
1793. William Lowndes, steward.
1801. Humfrey Francis Walcot, deputy.
1812. John Allnatt Hedges, deputy.

In 1817, the Honor and manors of Wallingford and Ewelme were offered for sale by auction by the Commissioners of his Majesty's Woods and Forests and Land Revenues. They are described as comprising sundry quit rents and certainty money arising from various estates held of the said honor, with the privileges of holding courts leet at the following places, namely, Chinnor, Ogborn St. George, Cherrington, Little Ressington, Hinton, Ardington, Chalgrove, Ipsden, Lewknor, Stokenchurch, Sutton Scotney (Courtney?), Purley, Great Haseley, and Throp; and the five following, separate and immediate manors, viz. Ewelme, Horsepath near Oxford, Cleanfield near Faringdon, Donnington near Newbury, and Bruern near Burford; other possessions belonging to the manors were afterwards alienated.

In the same year, the commissioners also sold by auction the site of the Castle, with its gardens and moats and pasture-land, and the king's meadow, containing together about sixty-two acres, several houses in Wallingford, the fishery in the river Thames, and a freehold estate at Ewelme and Nuffield, in the county of Oxford, comprising the manor-house, fish-ponds, and lands in Ewelme Street, containing about twenty-four acres, and also the Warren Farm at Nuffield, containing

one hundred and thirty-six acres. All the above Crown property was then lately held by Robert Hucks, Esq., on lease.

The Representation of the Town.

We have before observed, under date A.D. 1293 (vol. i. p. 349), that Wallingford sent members to Parliament as early as the twenty-first or twenty-third years of the reign of Edward I., perhaps earlier.* The first instance we find recorded of boroughs having been summoned occurred in 48 Henry III., A.D. 1264 (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 275); but whether this borough enjoyed the privilege before the time mentioned is doubtful. In the recent Parliamentary Blue-Book, 30 Edward I. (1302) is given as the date on which the first return has been found.

There is little doubt that the right of election was originally vested in the guild, or corporate body, as was usual in other boroughs at the time Parliaments were first instituted, when none but freemen were supposed to have any interests to serve or any rights to defend; and for this reason, among others, the representatives of boroughs were almost if not always chosen from their own body: consequently the mayor for the time being, or one of the principal inhabitants, and in later times the recorder, was selected to take upon himself the duties of the office, for the protection of the common rights of all the other freemen within the borough. He was paid for his attendance in Parliament at the rate of 2*s.* a day, out of the common fund of the guild, or corporation.† Thus we find in the reign of Edward I., thirty-third year, Nicholas de la Barre, who was mayor in the next reign and probably in this, although no record appears, was the representative of the borough in six succeeding Parliaments. John Maryot, who was mayor for seven years in the reigns of Edward I. and those of his successors, represented the borough in the thirty-fifth year of Edward I., 1 Edward II., and 4, 5, 8, 11, 12, and 13 Edward III. The election return of John and William Cotterell, two of the burgesses, 11 Henry IV., is set out under date 1409, vol. ii. p. 35; and John Cotterell and John Denby, "our fellow-burgesses," were elected by their brethren in 5 Henry V. (1417), *ante*, p. 41. Robert Cockson is described, in the returns of members summoned to meet in the Par-

* Male's "Law and Practice of Elections," Appendix p. 43.

† Lord Coke.

liament of 1 and 2 Philip and Mary (1554), "major ville et burgi Wallingford;" and so late as the year 1603 (James I.), Griffith Payne, who was mayor in that and the preceding year, was also member for the borough at that time. The above custom generally prevailed down to about the reign of Charles I., and was legalized by statute of Henry V., which directed the towns to choose only members of their own community. In King Charles's reign, although not in accordance with the above statute or previous usage, the representation was laid open to persons not immediately residents in the borough, though connected with it. The right of granting the privilege of voting at elections seems to have been inherent in corporations. Authorized by the king's writ to choose two representatives in Parliament, it was left for the corporate body to determine on whom they would bestow the franchise. Hence we find that the Wallingford corporation conferred the privilege of electing one of the Parliamentary representatives on the high steward of the borough, while the other representative was the recorder, who claimed by virtue of his office. Both these claims are exemplified and acknowledged in the corporation records. In the Statute-Book for 1614, it appears that William Reynolds and George Symonds were the burgesses who represented the borough in Parliament at that time, the former having been appointed by Lord Knollys, the high steward, and the latter by the company (corporation). The recorder asserted his claim, and the corporation acknowledged that, "according to order, their recorder for the time being should have been chosen, but having passed their promise to Mr. George Symonds, they entreated they might that time make good their promise, which the recorder consented to." So also in 1621, when "Sir George Simeon, Knight, and Samuel Dunche, Esquire, were chosen burgesses for the Parliament, on the 16th of January, Mr. Dunche was chosen by the Lord Viscount Wallingford, our high steward, and Sir George Simeon by the company, and both were sworn burgesses of this borough to the order and maintaining the liberties thereof, as far as in them lyeth." *

These narrow privileges were not long enjoyed, for about the time when the old custom of restricting the trading in the town to freemen was abolished, and strangers were

* Corporation Diary.

allowed to exercise their trades within its limits, indiscriminately without interruption, the number of inhabitants was thereby increased, and the privilege of electing the representatives was extended by the corporation to all the inhabitants who paid to the church and poor. In the Statute-Book are the following resolutions:—"It was agreed that no person whatsoever shall have a voice in the electing of a Parliament man for the borough, but such as pay to the church and poor at the time of issuing the writ."

This order was repealed in 1695, and in 1701 it was resolved, at a council meeting, that "no person shall have a voice in electing a burgess to serve in Parliament, but such as are inhabitants paying scot and lot" [and not receiving alms].

Not only the representative for the time being, but also all those who had served before, and were living, were still considered part of the corporate body, having been sworn burgesses at the time of their election, and, as such, were bound to attend the meetings of the mayor and corporation, whenever called on so to do, and on refusal were liable to be dismissed. This is shown to have been the prevailing custom in the year 1632, at which time the following resolution was entered in the Statute-Book on the 18th of July:—"This day all the burgesses for the Parliament heretofore chosen, are to be dismissed for not doing of service, except Sir Robert Knollys, Knight, and Edmund Dunch, Esquire, last burgesses." This measure was probably adopted in consequence of the political opinions which, at that period, divided the nation into two parties hostile to each other, and brought on the civil war which ended in the execution of Charles I. and had nearly subverted the liberties of the subject; but whether this attempt to exclude obnoxious members from municipal offices proceeded from the Royalists or Republicans, is now uncertain.

About this time also, so fertile in changes, the ancient custom of paying for Parliamentary services was discontinued in this and other Parliamentary boroughs. On the first establishment of the representative system, the duty of fulfilling the office of representative seems rather to have been obligatory than a matter of choice; and, as a consequence, the members at that time called upon their constituents for a

remuneration for their services and expenses during the session of Parliament. At length this system became alike distasteful both to the representative and to those on whom the burden of payment fell: while the former regarded the practice as degrading, and the honour of possessing a seat in Parliament a sufficient remuneration, the latter were glad to be relieved of a heavy annual payment, which was seldom made without difficulty and dissension; and thus, by the willing co-operation of both parties, the practice of paying wages to members for their attendance in Parliament came to an end. The obligation had, however, previously been avoided in some instances by mutual arrangement, as in the case of Sir Edward Chamberleyn, who was elected member for Wallingford, 21 Henry VIII., and covenanted to acquit the corporation from his expenses, as before stated.

The number of electors in this borough varied to a considerable extent at different periods, depending upon the changing fortunes of the town, and we can therefore form no correct estimate of the extent of the constituency in former times. The abrogation of trade restrictions increased the population, and consequently the number of voters; but at no time for many years previous to the passing of the Act for the Amendment of the Representation of the People, was the number sufficiently large to exempt the borough from the imputation of being subject to corrupt influences. Wallingford must be stigmatized as having been a rotten borough, in which systematic bribery and corruption prevailed for a long series of years. Notwithstanding the opposition offered to the system, many of the poor electors were tempted, by the seductive influence of gold, to barter away their votes; and being, with the help they received, numerically in the ascendant, constitutional representation was out of the question. The representation was that of the pockets of the wealthy candidates, who paid so much a head to their "free and independent constituents" for the honour of representing them in Parliament. Speaking of the period before the Reform Act, within our recollection, this gross system of venality was encouraged and practised by the professed advocates of purity of election, and Whiggism gained an easy victory by buying and selling, as marketable commodities, the suffrages of some hundred and fifty electors. Strenuous

efforts were made from time to time, by a large section of the constituency, to eradicate a system alike debasing and disgraceful to all concerned. Notably in the year 1826 was this the case, when Dr. Dodson opposed Colonel Hughes (afterwards Lord Dinorben) and Colonel Robarts; but the practice, so deeply rooted, was openly defended by the ostensible leaders and abettors of corruption as a valuable boon, conferring great local advantages; while the less guilty recipients of the bribe, the poor voters, looked upon the wages thus paid for political prostitution as their birthright, and regarded any attempt to bring about a reformation of the borough as an attack upon their vested interests, deserving of determined, if not vindictive, opposition. After two days polling, the election was carried by the power of gold, in spite of the exposure that took place. The numbers whereby the two members were declared "duly elected" were—

For Colonel Hughes	151	plumpers	2
,, Colonel Robarts	125	,,	3
,, Dr. Dodson	80	,,	52

The important personage by whose instrumentality the elections were secured, was a shoemaker of the town, named Gill, who was known under the sobriquet of "The Miller." No actual promise of reward was made before the election; a nod, or a wink, or an expressive smile, and now and then the assurance that "all is right," was alone sufficient to secure allegiance, and enable the poor misguided electors to satisfy their consciences, and, without hesitation in the majority of cases, to swear, before they recorded their votes, that they had not been influenced by any indirect promise of reward. The *modus operandi* whereby the faithful were rewarded, may be thus described: The election over, "The Miller," enveloped in a leathern apron up to his chin, and bending under the weight of numerous bags of gold coin, took his nocturnal rounds. Pursuant to previous arrangement, the outer door of the house of the "immaculate" voter was in most instances left open, and here, at the threshold, without question asked or answer given, a packet of twenty sovereigns was deposited; on every good man and true the golden favour was bestowed, and thus a sum of somewhere about £3000 was expended, at each recurring election, in the purchase of a seat

in Parliament upon "independent principles," the independent member being freed from any obligation to trouble himself about the constituency till the time arrived for another supply of the precious metal. Such were the corrupt practices of professed constitutional reformers, whereby a foul blot has been left on the borough, which no length of time is likely to obliterate.

But time rolled on, and another candidate appeared to share the honour and the profit of "The Miller's" occupation. Charges were alleged that certain bags of gold had been misappropriated, and that a certain percentage had been unjustifiably abstracted for personal services. Matters were irreconcilable between the two rivals. To the great delight of the blues, charge and counter-charge quickly followed each other, till at length "The Miller" deliberately made a full disclosure of all his secret doings, and his connection with Whig depravity. His detailed statement was carefully taken down at his own request, and signed and confirmed by the solemn obligations of an oath before a magistrate of the county, in October, 1832. The affidavit disclosed, as a fact, that two hundred and seventy-five bags of gold, of £20 each, were sent to Wallingford for distribution, by one of the then members, but that only one hundred and sixty-four bags were applied to the purpose for which they were intended, whereby eleven voters had been cut off, whose names "The Miller" swore he gave to the member, on his request to be furnished with them. The lengthy affidavit was published and circulated, and generally accepted as an ample and satisfactory exoneration of "The Miller" from those imputations of dishonesty which his enemies had levelled against him for the purpose, as he alleged, of screening themselves from the merited hatred and contempt of their fellow-townsmen. These revelations acted, as may be supposed, as a powerful auxiliary to the efforts of the independent electors to stem the torrent of corruption; and a considerable advance was made thereby towards annihilating this infamous traffic in votes, which the Reform Act, by extending the constituency to the neighbouring district, and depriving the borough of one of its members, well-nigh completed. It may be remarked that "The Miller" and his men, with very few exceptions, have long since passed away.

The following list of the representatives of the borough is taken chiefly from the Parliamentary Return, lately published, and from Browne Willis's "Notitia Parliamentaria":—

Year of reign.	Summoned to meet at	Names.
30 Edward I., 1302	Westminster	Osbertus de Nottlee, Willielmus Clericus.
33 „ 1304–5	„	Nicholaus de la Barre, Willielmus Mareschal.
34 „ 1306	„	Same, Ricardus de Cippenham.
35 „ 1306–7	Carlisle	Johannes Mariot, Osbertus de Nottele.
1 Edward II., 1307	Northampton	Nicholaus de la Barre, Johannes Mariot.
2 „ 1309	Westminster	Thomas de Morton, Thomas Bone.
5 „ 1311	London	Nicholaus de la Barre, Osbertus de Nutle.
5 „ 1311	Westminster	Same, same.
6 „ 1312–13	„	Same, Ricardus de Cippenham.
7 „ 1313	„	Same, Willielmus Butty.
8 „ 1314	York	Walterus atte Russhe, same.
8 „ 1314–15	Westminster	Osbertus de Notele, Thomas Bone.
12 „ 1318	York	Thomas de Garston, same.
12 „ 1319	„	Johannes Osebern, Ricardus Grotard.
14 „ 1320	Westminster	Thomas Bone, Thomas Borhunt.
15 „ 1321	„	Nicholaus de la Barre, Johannes Osebern.
15 „ 1322	York	Reginaldus de Braburne, Alexander le Vacher.
16 „ 1322	Ripon	Thomas atte Garston, same.
17 „ 1323–24	Westminster	Osbertus de Notele, Reginaldus de Bradebourn.
19 „ 1325	„	Robertus Butty, Ricardus Reswald.
1 Edward III., 1327	Lincoln	Johannes Osebern, Rogerus le Saucer.
2 „ 1328	Northampton	Thomas Bone, Johannes Osebern.
2 „ 1328	York	Johannes Osbern, Johannes Breton.
4 „ 1329–30	Winchester	Johannes Mariot, Willielmus Arnyot.
4 „ 1330	Westminster	Same, Robertus Boty.
5 „ 1331	„	Same, same.
6 „ 1332	„	Thomas Bone, Willielmus de Dene.
8 „ 1333–34	York	Johannes Mariot, Johannes de Preston.
9 „ 1335	„	Willielmus de Cornewaille, Philippus Prestone.
10 „ 1335–36	Westminster	Same, Thomas Bone.
10 „ 1336	Nottingham	Same, Edmundus de Benham.
11 „ 1336–37	Westminster	Same, Thomas Bone.
11 „ 1337	„	Johannes Mariot, Willielmus de Cornwaill.
12 „ 1337–38	„	Same, same.
12 „ 1338	Northampton	Willielmus le Goldsmyth, Johannes de Berewyk.

Year of reign.			Summoned to meet at	Names.
12 & 13	Ed. III,	1338–9	Westminster	Johannes Mariot, Willielmus Arnyat.
13	,,	1339	,,	Johannes Stacy, Thomas Patheshull.
13	,,	1339–40	,,	Robertus Boty, Willielmus le Goldsmyth.
15	,,	1341	,,	Johannes Mariot, Robertus Butty.
18	,,	1344	,,	Rogerus Tylewyne, Johannes Berewyk.
21	,,	1347–48	,,	Johannes atte Ruysshe, Johannes atte Barston.
22	,,	1348	,,	Philippus de Preston, Willielmus le Goldsmyth.
25	,,	1350–51	,,	Willielmus de Harewell, Thomas Reynald.
29	,,	1355	,,	Johannes de Louches, Johannes Brightwalton.
32	,,	1357–58	,,	Robertus Perot, Johannes Heroun.
34	,,	1360	,,	Johannes Louch, Johannes Andrew.
34	,,	1360–61	,,	Nicholaus Payable, Rogerus de Preston.
36	,,	1362	,,	Willielmus Harewell, Henricus Redyng.
37	,,	1363	,,	Same, Alexander Absolan.
38	,,	1364–65	,,	Johannes Jemes, Rogerus Preston.
40	,,	1366	,,	Same, Nicholaus Payable.
42	,,	1368	,,	Nicholaus Tannere, Robertus Butty.
43	,,	1369	,,	Johannes James, Nicholaus Tannere.
45	,,	1370–71	,,	Same, Ricardus atte Feld.
45	,,	1371	Winchester	Same [no original returns; sheriffs to send certain specified knights and burgesses who were at the last Parliament].
46	,,	1372	Westminster	Ricardus atte Felde, Rogerus Milburne.
47	,,	1373	,,	Thomas Grove, Rogerus Arnyate.
50	,,	1375–76	,,	Johannes James, Ricardus atte Feld.
51	,,	1376–77	,,	Thomas Beneshef, Henricus de Redyng.
1 Richard II.,		1377	,,	Thomas Reynald, Ricardus Attefelde.
2	,,	1378	Gloucester	Robertus . . . [name uncertain], Rogerus Arnyate.
3	,,	1379–80	Westminster	Rogerus Melbourn, Walterus Hervy.
5	,,	1381	,,	. . . [name torn off], Rogerus Melbourn.
5	,,	1382	,,	Thomas Grove, Robertus Oxensted.
6	,,	1382–83	,,	Rogerus Melbourn, Johannes Kerres.
7	,,	1383	,,	Rogerus Arnyate, same.
7	,,	1384	Salisbury	Thomas Grove, Johannes Lyttel.
8	,,	1384	Westminster	Thomas atte Grove, Walterus Harby.*
9	,,	1385	,,	Thomas Beneshef, Robertus de Oxenford.
10	,,	1386	,,	Same, Johannes Derby.

* Returned for Wallingford County.

Year of reign.	Summoned to meet at	Names.
11 Richard II., 1387–8	Westminster	Thomas Beneshef, Rogerus Milburn.
12 „ 1388	Cambridge	Ricardus de Brugge, Johannes Bernard.
13 „ 1389–90	Westminster	Johannes Cotterell, Rogerus Melbourne.
15 „ 1391	„	Ricardus Hovelok, Willielmus Hende.
16 „ 1392–93	Winchester	Johannes Coterell, Willielmus Cary.
17 „ 1393–94	Westminster	Same, Johannes Derby.
18 „ 1394–95	„	Same, same.
20 „ 1396–97	„	Same, Robertus Oxenford.
21 „ 1397–98	„	Same, Walterus Colete.
1 Henry IV., 1399	„	Walterus Hervy, Johannes Culham.
7 „ 1405-6	Coventry	Willielmus Essex, Walterus Hyndon.
9 „ 1407	Gloucester	Johannes Culham, Willielmus Clowd.
11 „ 1409–10	Bristol	Johannes Cottrell, Willielmus Cottrell.
1 Henry V., 1413	Westminster	Thomas Ravenyng, Lewys Ihon.
2 „ 1413–14	Leicester	Robertus Deffonte, Robertus Carswell.
7 „ 1419	Westminster	Johannes Denby, Ricardus Algate.
8 „ 1420	„	Johannes Cotterell, same.
9 „ 1421	„	Same, Johannes Mercham.
9 „ 1421	„	Johannes Warffeld, Willielmus Bodyngton.
1 Henry VI., 1422	„	Same, Laurencius Hawman.
2 „ 1423	„	Laurencius Haweman, Henricus Payn.
3 „ 1425	„	Johannes Mercham, Thomas Jones.
4 „ 1425–26	Leicester	Laurencius Haweman, Johannes Denby.
6 „ 1427	Westminster	Johannes Warfeld, Willielmus Borde.
8 „ 1429	„	Same, Laurencius Haweman.
9 „ 1430–31	„	Same, Thomas Ramesey.
10 „ 1432	„	Same, Willielmus Bodyngton.
11 „ 1433	„	Same, same.
14 „ 1435	„	Same, Willielmus Borde.
15 „ 1436–37	Cambridge	Same, same.
20 „ 1441–42	Westminster	Johannes Bruggewater, Johannes Stokke [Andreas Grygge on back of writ].
25 „ 1446–47	Cambridge	Johannes Stokke, Robertus Dalby.
27 „ 1448–49	Westminster	Thomas Carlyll, Henricus Herleton.
28 „ 1449	„	Robertus Hopton, Thomas Brown.
29 „ 1450	„	Henricus Spencer, Ricardus Bulstrode.
31 „ 1452–53	Reading	Thomas Preston, armiger, Johannes Burgh.
38 „ 1459	Coventry	Ricardus Houghton, Henricus Spencer.
39 „ 1460	Westminster	Willielmus Bedeston, Johannes Bydon.
7 Edward IV., 1467	„	Johannes Colynggrugge, Robertus Hopton.

Year of reign.	Summoned to meet at	Name.
12 Edward IV., 1472	Westminster	Thomas Roos, Thomas Ayshynden.
17 „ 1477–78	„	Thomas Wode, gentylman, Thomas Vynsent, gentylman.
Parliaments summoned 22 Edward IV.; 1 Richard III.; 1, 3, 7, 11, and 12 Henry VII.; 1, 3, 6, and 14 Henry VIII., no returns found.		
21 Henry VIII., 1529	London	Edwardus Chamberleyn, miles, Godelacius Overton.
33 „ 1541–42	Westminster	Names illegible in return
1 Edward VI., 1547	„	Thomas Parye, armiger, Henricus Hontley, generosus.
7 „ 1552–53	„	Same, Georgius Wrighte, armiger.
1 Mary, 1553	„	Georgius Wright, armiger, Edmundus Plowden, armiger.
1 „ 1554	Oxford	Edmundus Asshefeld, Anthonius Butler.
1 & 2 Ph. & Mary, 1554	Westminster	Edmundus Asschefyld, armiger, Robertus Cockson, major ville et burgi Wallingford.
2 & 3 „ 1555	„	Thomas Parye, armiger, Thomas Mynde, generosus.
4 & 5 „ 1557–58	„	Thomas Myn, armiger, Radulphus Pollyngton,* generosus.
1 Elizabeth, 1558–59	„	Thomas Myn, Esq., John [Forteskew], gent.
5 „ 1562 63	„	William Dunche, Esq., Thomas Brown.
14 „ 1572	„	Thomas Diggs, John Foskeue (or Fortescue).
27 „ 1584	„	Christopher Edmonds, Esq., Richard Knollys, gent.
28 „ 1586	„	Richard Knowles, Esq., Thomas Stampe, Esq.
30 & 31 „ 1588–89	„	Michael Molyns, Esq., Thomas Stampe.†
35 „ 1592-93	„	Thomas Fortescue, Esq.,‡ Anthony Bacon [Robert Dormer, Knt]. §
39 „ 1597	„	Same, Owen Oglethroppe.
43 „ 1601	„	The Hon. John Harberte, second Secretary of State and Privy Counsellor; Henry Doyley, Esq., of Wallingford. Return dated September 29.
43 „ 1601	„	Thomas Fortescue, Esq., *vice* the Hon. John Harberte (or Herbert), who elected to serve for the county of Glamorgan. Return dated November 7.
1 James I., 1603–4	„	Sir William Dunche, Knt., Griffith Payne, gent.

* Mayor of Wallingford. † Recorder of the borough.
‡ Privy Counsellor to Queen Elizabeth. § Browne Willis.

Year of reign.	Summoned to meet at	Names.
12 James I., 1614	Westminster	William Reynolds, Esq., George Symonds.*
18 „ 1620–21	„	Sir George Simeon, Knt., Samuel Dunche, Esq.
21 „ 1623–24	„	Sir Edward Howarde, Knt., Sir George Simeon, Knt., Sir Anthony Forest, Knt., *vice* Sir Edward Howarde, who elected to serve for Calne, Wilts. Returns dated January 24 and March 7.
1 Charles I., 1625	„	Sir Anthony Forrest, Knt., Michael Molyns, Esq.
1 „ 1625–26	„	Same, Unton Croke.
3 „ 1627–28	„	Sir Robert Knolys, Knt., Edmund Dunche.
16 „ 1640	„	Edmund Dunche, Unton Croke.
16 „ Long Parlt. (Commonwealth)	„	Same, Anthony Barker.†
16 „ 1640	„	Robert Packer (?).
Protectorate, 1653	„	In the Parliament holden in the years 1653–54 and 1656, no returns were made for Wallingford, it being included with other boroughs in the general representation of the county, which, according to the instrument of government drawn up by Cromwell and his Council of Officers, was to send five members; and Reading alone was exempted from this regulation, being authorized to return one member. According to this instrument, the county was to be divided into five districts, and the election was to take place in the principal town of each district, which was to elect one member. This regulation took place in 1653, but we have not been able to learn who were returned, nor in which of the towns the elections took place, though, from its situation and respectability, there can be no doubt that Wallingford was one of the number.
Ric. Cromwell, 1658	„	William Cooke, Walter Bigg.‡

* Browne Willis.

† Recorder of the borough, but afterwards dismissed from the office.

‡ Both these gentlemen were residents, if not natives, of Wallingford.

Year of reign.	Summoned to meet at	Names.
12 Charles II., 1660	Westminster	Hungerford Dunch, Robert Packer,* Thomas Saunders *vice* Hungerford Dunch, who elected to serve for Cricklade.
13 „ 1661	„	George Fane, Esq., (Right Hon.) Robert Packer (Parker), Sir John Bennett, Knight of the Bath, *vice* George Fane, deceased.
31 „ 1678–79	„	John Stone, Scorie Barker.
31 „ 1679	„	William Southall, Toovey Barker.
33 „ 1680–81	Oxford	Scorey Barker, Taverner Harris.
1 James II., 1685	Westminster	John Stone, John Holloway.
Convention, 1688–89	„	Thomas Tipping, William Jennens.†
2 Wm. & My, 1689–90	„	William Jennens, John Wallis.
7 William III., 1695	„	Same, Thomas Tipping.
10 „ 1698	„	Sir Thomas Tipping, Bart., Richard Pye.
12 „ 1700–1	„	William Jennens, Thomas Renda.
13 „ 1701	„	Same, same.
1 Anne 1702	„	Same, same.
„ 1703	„	Same, same.
„ 1705	„	Clement Kent, William Jennings.
„ 1708	„	Grey Neville, Thomas Renda.
„ 1710	„	Thomas Renda, Simon Harcourt.‡
„ 1712	„	Richard Bigg,§ Thomas Renda.
George I., 1714	„	William Hucks,‖ Edmund Dunch,¶ who was succeeded on his decease by Grey Neville.

* Browne Willis. Crosby.

† Double return; that by which Thomas Tipping, Esq., and John Dormer, Esq., were returned, was taken off the file by order of the House, dated February 21, 1688–89 (see Crown Office List).

‡ Son of the Lord Chancellor.

§ There were three petitions presented to the House against this return; one was from Henry Grey, Esq., which was ordered to be referred to a Committee of Privileges and Elections, "and that they do examine the matter thereof and report the same;" but on a motion being afterwards made, "that it be an instruction to the said committee that they do appoint the merits of the said election to be heard upon the morrow three weeks," it passed in the negative. Votes, 1713.

‖ Brewer to his Majesty.

¶ Master of the Household. On March 26, 1715, Richard Bigg petitioned the House, complaining of an undue election, and on January 10, 1719, Gilbert Douglas did the like. These petitions arose from Mr. Renda's tenants at Clapcot (then called Clabcot) claiming a right to vote for the town. The House decided that none but persons residing within the borough, and paying scot and lot, were entitled to vote for representatives (Corporation Diary).

Year of reign.	Summoned to meet at	Names.
George II., 1721	Westminster	William Hucks, gent., Lord Parker.*
„ 1727	„	Same, George Lewen.
„ 1734	„	Same, Thomas Towers. Joseph Townsend was elected on the death of William Hucks.
„ 1741	„	John Bance, John Rush.
„ 1747	„	Joseph Townsend, Richard Tonson.
„ 1753 or 1754	„	Richard Neville Aldworth, John Harvey.†
George III., 1760	„	Sir I. Gibbons, Sir George Piggot.
„ 1768	„	I. Aubrey, Colonel Robert Piggot.‡
„ 1774	„	I. Cator, Sir Robert Baker.
„ 1780	„	I. Aubrey, Chalener Archdeacon, Esq.
„ 1782	„	Sir Francis Sykes, Bart., Major Aubrey.
„ 1784	„	Same, Thomas Aubrey.
„ 1790	„	Same, N. W. Wrexall.
„ 1794	„	Same, Francis William Sykes.
„ 1796	„	Same, same.
„ 1797	„	Right Hon. Samson, Lord Eardley.
„ 1802	„	Sir Francis Sykes, Bart., William Lewis Hughes.
„ 1804	„	John Huddleston, Esq.
„ 1807	„	Richard Benyon, William Lewis Hughes.
„ 1812	„	William Lewis Hughes, Ebenezer Fuller Maitland.
„ 1818	„	Same, same.
George IV., 1820	„	Same, George James Robarts.
„ 1826	„	Same, same.
„ Dec. 1826	„	Robert Knight, in room of the above; same.
William IV., Oct. 1830	„	Same, W. Lewis Hughes.
„ April 1831	„	Same, same.
„ Sept. 1831	„	Thomas Charles Leigh, in the room of William Lewis Hughes, on his elevation to the peerage under the title of Baron Dinorben.
„ 1832	„	William Seymour Blackstone. §
„ 1835	„	Same.
Victoria, 1837	„	Same.
„ 1841	„	Same.
„ 1847	„	Same.

* Son of the Earl of Macclesfield, and Teller of the Exchequer.

† A Welsh judge.

‡ In the year 1772, he was appointed Warden of the Mint, and a new writ was issued.

§ Grandson of the judge, who also, according to Lysons, once represented the borough, but the year is not mentioned.

Year of reign.		Summoned to meet at	Names.
Victoria,	1852	Westminster	Richard Malins, Q.C.
,,	1857	,,	Same.
,,	1859	,,	Same.*
,,	1866	,,	Sir Wentworth Dilke, Bart.
,,	1868	,,	Stanley Vickers.†
,,	1872	,,	Edward Wells.
,,	1874	,,	Same.
,,	1880	,,	Walter Wren, elected in March, unseated on petition in June following; Pandeli Ralli.‡

The Corporation.

Wallingford was a borough by prescription from an early date, and the inhabitants exercised nearly all the privileges of a community or commonalty prior to their having been authorized by the charters of any of our sovereigns. These privileges, and "all the laws and customs which they enjoyed in the reigns of the Confessor, of William the First, and Henry the First," were confirmed and perpetuated, and further privileges granted, by the charter of Henry II., before set out; but at what precise period these municipal privileges and customs, which had subsisted by prescription, were first reduced into written statutory law, with power to appoint a chief magistrate known as the mayor (major), may be doubtful. As before stated, municipal institutions were most frequently engrafted on the trading fraternities, or guilds, into which the Saxon chiefs had allowed the towns to form themselves; and in proportion as the powers of the community were enlarged, the feudal powers exercised by the barons declined. The entry in the Corporation Ledger before quoted, vol. i. p. 265, states that Henry II. granted the charter of liberties for the first mayoralty at Wallingford, in 1155, which is said to be about thirty-two years before the mayoralty of London. Whether the term "mayor" had any other designation at that time than merely to denote that he was the head or president of his brother aldermen, for the regulation of their corporate affairs, cannot at this distance

* Appointed Vice-Chancellor in the autumn of 1865.
† Petition against his return was unsuccessful.
‡ Petition unsuccessful.

of time be decided; but however contracted the duties of his office might originally have been, there can be no doubt that they gradually expanded, and that the mayor became the chief magistrate of the borough, in the judicial as well as the civil government of the inhabitants, long before the reign of Edward VI. (1547), when the development of municipal institutions took place. In the reign of Henry VII., previous to which there is no record in the corporation books, abundant proof exists that this officer exercised a general and almost absolute power. The charter of Henry II. is that to which the entry before quoted points, as conferring the mayoralty on the borough, and the language and scope of it appear to be amply sufficient for the purpose, although the terms employed are not express, and seem to refer to an institution, with laws and customs long previously existing, which it was the object of the charter to confirm and strengthen, giving exclusive jurisdiction and enlarged powers. Under this state of things, we may fairly assume that the old institution or guild was remodelled under the charter of Henry II., that its chief officer, who formerly bore the name of reeve, bailiff, alderman, or minister, was elevated to the title of mayor, and that a more settled law of election and of passing laws for the government of the town were then acquired.

The want of distinctness in the language of the charter has induced some to doubt the accuracy of the entry in the Corporation Ledger, that Wallingford had its mayor before the city of London. Hume observes, "The Conqueror granted two charters to the city soon after he came; therefore London was among the first cities in Europe that were incorporated." These charters do not appear to support sufficiently this opinion; and so far as we can ascertain, it was not till the year 1191 (Richard I.) that the title of mayor was first assumed in that city; prior to this reign, London seems to have had its portreeve or bailiff in connection with a trading fraternity. The charter referred to, consisting of about four lines, beautifully written in the Saxon character, on slips of parchment, are religiously preserved among the city archives, and translations appear in several city histories; but we fail to see that either of them gives to the city a corporate character.

The first charter runs thus:—"William the king friendly salutes William the bishop, and Godfrey the portreeve, and all the burgesses within London, both French and English. And I declare that I grant you to be all law-worthy, as you were in the days of King Edward; and I grant that every child shall be his father's heir, after his father's days, and I will not suffer any person to do you wrong. God keep you."

The second charter is thus translated:—"William the king friendly salutes William the bishop, and Swegn the sheriff, and all my thanes (or nobles) in East Saxony; whom I hereby acquaint that, pursuant to an agreement, I have granted to the people, my servants, the hyde of land at Gyddesdune. And also that I will not suffer either the French or the English to hurt them in anything."

It can hardly be contended that the term "law-worthy" in the first charter created the grant of any local organization for the administration of civil affairs or judicial business;—it rather seems to aim at protection from the injury and violence of imperious lords under the feudal system. In Dalrymple* on Feudal Property, it is stated that this famous charter of the Conqueror is nothing but a letter of protection, or declaration that the citizens should not be treated as slaves. Probably the portreeve was a nominee of the Crown; he is called in the "Liber Albus," Part I. cap. ii. p. 13 (Riley), the king's "locum tenens." The fifth charter of King John appears to be the first extant which expressly grants to the citizens of London the privilege of choosing their own mayor, and in the reign of Edward II. another charter was granted for the more regular government of the city. Other charters were subsequently granted, whereby the ancient privileges of the city were confirmed.

Winchester is another city which claims the honour of being first in the roll of mayors, and it is evident that it had peculiar privileges at the time Henry II. granted the charter to Wallingford, because by that charter his subjects in Wallingford are to possess the same privileges as their ancestors, and as "freely, quietly, and honourably as my citizens of Winchester have at any time better had." This reference to the charter of Winchester is a little confusing,

* See Hume's "History of England," Appendix p. 11.

as it appears from Milner's History * that there was no mayor of that city till 1184, whereas the charter which gave to Wallingford enlarged privileges, and under which we assume the mayor was elected, was granted nearly thirty years before that date. Milner states that Henry II. granted several charters to the city, by one of which its chief magistrate was raised to a rank above all other municipal officers in the kingdom, it being ordered that Winchester should be governed by a mayor, with a subordinate bailiff, and he gives the year 1184 as that in which the first mayor, by name Florence de Lunn, was chosen, and John Russell is mentioned as his deputy or bailiff. The date of the charter from whence these particulars were obtained is not mentioned, nor is the charter itself set out, although in the appendix transcripts of charters to the city, of Henry I., Richard I., King John, and Queen Elizabeth, appear. Probably it perished in the fire that broke out in 1181, and destroyed, as Milner tells us, the royal palace, the Mint, the Guildhall, with most of the city records, and a great portion of the houses belonging to the inhabitants. In the charter of King John the city was incorporated by the name of the mayor and burgesses. In the Parliamentary Return, Winchester first appears as having sent members to Parliament in 23 Edward I. (1295).

It may be that Wallingford had its municipal institution, based on ancient prescriptive rights, before that of Winchester, although not only Milner, but also Mr. Charles Bailey, the author of "Transcripts from Municipal Archives of Winchester," both claim for that city priority over all other places in the kingdom.

The charter of Henry II. was confirmed and enlarged by Henry III. and by several succeeding monarchs, as before appears; the fees arising from such grants and concessions making no inconsiderable portion of the revenues of the Crown, before the system of taxation was adopted.

A long interval elapsed prior to the reign of Henry VII., during which the information obtainable relating to the corporation is scanty. The books called the "Ledger" and the "Statute-Book," before mentioned, commence in that reign, and we may here refer briefly to a few entries therein affecting more particularly the constitution of the corporate body.

* "History of Winchester."

In fol. 1 appears a list of its members as it existed on the 27th of April, 1508. William a Dene, junr., is mentioned as the mayor, and the names of three aldermen follow. The burgesses are classified as officiating and non-officiating, the former class, headed by the recorder, contains the names of eleven office-bearers, and the latter eleven other names.

22nd April, 1507. "John Polehampton cometh to the Guildhall before Master Mayor, and prayeth to be a burgess of the borough, and agreed with the bailiffs, upon which he was admitted and sworn to the said Master Mayor, and to the privileges of the town, and he gave to the box 5*s.* 4*d.*"

Thomas Croych prays, with the consent of all the burgesses, to be a brother and a burgess of the town, and he was admitted and sworn, giving to the box 2*s.*

In the 34th Henry VIII. (1543), it was enacted that from henceforth, priests that be parsons within the said town, shall not be taken nor reputed as burgesses within the borough, and also that they shall not enter an action for a penny, nor be suffered to sit upon the bench, with the mayor and aldermen, any more after the date hereof.

In the 26th Queen Elizabeth (1584), at the annual election, there were appointed, in addition to the usual officers, four wardens, two searchers and sealers of leather, the like of cloth, and victual and ale tasters.

At a court held at the Guildhall, 1597, Peter Small, of Mackney, was disfranchised from being a burgess, for non-residence for a year and a day, and non-payment of scot and lot. Subsequently he was received as an under-burgess, on payment of a fine of 6*s.* 8*d.*, "because he pretended ignorance of the cause that incurred the forfeiture of his place."

At the same court it was enacted that no man inhabiting out of the borough shall remain a burgess, unless he give his attendance as other burgesses, and pay all manner of taxes, talleys, and scot and lot.

In the 2nd James I., an order was made, which was repealed the next year, restricting any increase in the number of burgesses or aldermen. William James, in 1608, was fined 2*s.* 6*d.* for not accepting, on appointment, the office of alderman.

The manor of Wallingford was granted by King James I. to the corporation.

Among the adherents of King Charles I., was William Loader, who was one of the leading inhabitants of the borough. On account of his loyalty he was dismissed from the corporation, by an illegal mandate issued by the Long Parliament, and put out of the mayoralty, and Henry Cursell, gent., was chosen in his stead. In the next year some colour of justice was given to this harsh proceeding, for we find that an inquiry was instituted in April, 1648, and that Loader and some other members of the corporate body, attended the commissioners appointed by the Long Parliament, and were questioned by them for adhering to the king when the borough was a royal garrison; this inquiry, however, availed them little, for at a court held at the Guildhall, 3rd May, it was resolved, by a majority of the council, "that William Loader, Nicholas Crouch, alderman, Nicholas Larkcom, and Robert Browne, burgesses, be put forth and excluded out of the company of aldermen and burgesses."

On the 24th of May, 1648, the corporation consisted of a mayor, three aldermen, a chamberlain, and sixteen burgesses, the names being: Henry Kersell, gent., mayor; Thomas Eldridge, Richard Norton, and John Day, aldermen; Bernard Day, chamberlain; and burgesses, Richard Slade, John Rusden, Richard White, Thomas Norton, John Smithe, Thomas Bassett, Thomas Bishopp, Hugh Cole, Benjamin Cole, Richard Cope, William Cooke, William Lane, Thomas Elie, Richard Kirbie, Paul Banister, and William Richardson.

At a court held 3rd May, 1648, it was agreed "to bring into the company of burgesses, the Honourable Arthur Evelyn, Governor of the Castle of Wallingford."* This savours of disunion among the members of the corporate body, and probably the spirit of contention between the Royalists and the Parliamentarians ran high; the latter party, however, appears to have been in the ascendant.

Immediately after this resolution, comes the following, to enforce attendance on the mayor:—"October 6, 1648. Ordered that the aldermen shall at all times after All Hallows Day, attend and accompany the mayor to the church, and to the court in the Guildhall, in their gowns, and that the chamberlain of the said borough doth likewise attend the mayor in his gown, and that the burgesses do likewise

* Ledger, p. 136.

attend the mayor as aforesaid in their cloaks, upon the penalty that each alderman shall pay 6*s.* 8*d.*, and the chamberlain and burgesses 3*s.* 4*d.* for every default, to be levied by way of distress upon the offender's goods." *

The frequent repetition of ordinances by the council, subsequent to the above date, for enforcing the attendance of the aldermen and burgesses in their cloaks and gowns on the mayor on all public occasions, induces the belief, either that this distinguishing mark of civic dignity was not duly appreciated by many of the corporate body, or, which is more likely, that the neglect to attend the mayor, with the insignia of office, arose out of the troublous times of Charles I. The first ordinance that passed for compelling attendance on the mayor was in 1610; but it was not till the civil war between Charles and his Parliament broke out and raged in this town and neighbourhood, that these ordinances assumed an imperative tone.

15th February, 1631. At a court, it was decreed that "all burgesses for the Parliament heretofore chosen are to be dismissed this day, for not doing of service, except Sir Robert Knollys, Knight, and Edmund Dunch, Esquire, last burgesses." †

In March, 1649, just after the execution of Charles I., the corporation consisted of the mayor, five aldermen, chamberlain, two bailiffs, and eleven burgesses, whose names are given in p. 135 of the Ledger. Thus the number of burgesses was reduced from sixteen in 1648 to eleven in 1649.

Within a year after the king's execution, his Highness the Lord Protector granted a new charter for the better government of the borough, and to keep sessions therein. It is dated the 17th of April, 1650, and Hugh Coles was nominated the mayor, with other officers of the body corporate, which was to consist of six alderman, a chamberlain, and two bailiffs, who were annually to be elected out of the twelve burgesses.

There are but few entries in the corporation books between August, 1650, and February, 1666, and much of the following information is obtained from other sources.

The above charter was no longer in force than during the interregnum; for on the restoration of Charles II., a warrant

* Ledger, p. 137. † Ibid., p. 1156.

was issued, dated 28th February, for confirming the former charter, which in 1663 was formally renewed, and additional privileges granted. The corporation, however, did not wait for this formal renewal, but in November, 1660, presented a petition for an order to restore those persons then surviving who, in 1647, were ejected from the corporation "by ordinance of the pretended Parliament, for loyalty, when officers and soldiers of the Parliament army and others were introduced, who still give out dangerous and seditious speeches against his Majesty; also for the annulling of all burgesses elected since 1647, that the government of the town may be rescued from slavery and tyranny." The names of the eleven ejected members are given. Whereupon the king requested "the Deputy-Lieutenants of Berkshire to call before them the Mayor and burgesses of Wallingford, and try to procure the amicable restoration of such officers as were displaced for their loyalty during the late troubles, or otherwise to certify who are the obstructors therein." *

These deputy-lieutenants, in the exercise of an assumed authority, displaced the mayor, which gave rise to the following Order of Council and royal mandate :—

1661, March 28. Whitehall. On complaint of the undue ejection of the Mayor of Wallingford, by Sir George Fane and three other Deputy-Lieutenants of Berkshire, under colour of authority from the king, it was ordered that a letter be sent to them, expressing his Majesty's dislike of the proceedings, and requiring the restoration of the mayor to his office, and to the possession of the insignia of magistracy.

Same date. The king to the Deputy-Lieutenants of Berkshire. His Majesty "is surprised at their proceedings, on his former letter, concerning amicable redress of some irregularities at Wallingford, and that they should, without command, displace the mayor;" orders his immediate restoration.

Further action on the part of the deputy-lieutenants in effecting an amicable arrangement was rendered unnecessary by an Act of Parliament, 13 Charles II. (dating from the execution of Charles I., in 1649), which was passed in January, 1662, for removing all office-bearers and common councilmen, who would not swear that they believed it to be unlawful to take up arms against the king, or against those who were

* "Calendar of State Papers," Green.

commissioned by him on any pretence whatsoever; and who would not subscribe a declaration, disclaiming the obligation of the oath commonly called the solemn league and covenant, as in itself an unlawful oath, and imposed upon the subjects against the laws and liberties of the kingdom. Under this Act a commission was issued, dated 20th February, 1662; and at a sessions held at Wallingford, 26th June in that year, before the Right Honourable Lord Lovelace and six others, the mayor, Thomas Norton; five aldermen, namely, William Cooke, John Rusden, Hugh Coles, Richard Kirby, and Francis Knight; and nine burgesses were removed and displaced from the corporation, as "persons unfit to be trusted with any place or office concerning the government of the town." * And the commissioners reinstated in their offices William Loader, mayor, in the place of Norton, and the other aldermen and burgesses who had been ejected under the Commonwealth.

The charter of 15 Charles II. (1663), after reciting that "many debates, ambiguities, and discomoditys, have arisen about the validity of former charters, and that the same may be taken away, and the town be a town of peace," declares that the town shall be a free borough, and the burgesses and inhabitants a body politic, "by the name of the Mayor, Burgesses, and Commonalty, by which name they are to have perpetual succession, and a common seal, and be capable of possessing, granting and conveying lands and tenements. That there shall be one Mayor, one Recorder, one Town Clerk, six Aldermen, two Burgesses, one Chamberlain, and eighteen Assistants of the better sort of inhabitants; the Recorder and Town Clerk to be approved by the King. William Loder is to be the first Mayor, and those who are to hold the other offices are all named, with the exception of the Bailiffs and Sergeants-at-mace, who are to be appointed by the Mayor. The Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen are to be justices of the peace within the borough, and the justices for the county are not to intermeddle therein."

Various provisions are made respecting the Court of Record, Borough Mote Court, and Leets, Law Days and Views of Frankpledge, and for the establishment of two markets and four fairs every year, and of a guild or fraternity; and

* Statute-Book, p. 27.

powers are given to make assize of bread, beer, and wine, and of weights and measures, and to punish the breakers of such assize, by drawing them on hurdles or otherwise.

The right of electing two burgesses to serve in Parliament is vested in the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and assistants, and other persons of the borough paying scot and lot.

Then follows a confirmation of all former charters, privileges, and customs; and a release and acquittance of all actions and suits, and unjust claims, etc., before the 24th of June, 1662.

This charter does not appear to have restored the peace of the town. On the 1st of September, 1664, at the annual court, "Anthony Leaver, gent., was appointed mayor, but by reason of some differences arising among the company, the major part of them refused to give the mayor elected his oath, and consequently he could not be fined. Whereupon Francis Day, the then mayor, was constrained to serve another year." *

These differences between the two parties lingered on, and in 1669, the majority of the corporation, by way it would seem of protest, and in assertion of their rights, re-elected Thomas Norton as an alderman, and in 1671 as mayor. The following resolution was adopted 8th May, 1669:—"Whereas an order was made by divers commissioners, on the 26th of June, 1662, for the removing and displacing of Thomas Norton, gent., then mayor, etc., yet, notwithstanding the said order, we do elect and choose the said Thomas Norton into the place and office of an assistant in this borough, and the said Thomas Norton was then also elected and chosen an alderman of this borough."

3rd July, 1676. William Loader, town clerk, having been several times admonished by the council, it was ordered that he do give due attendance on the mayor at the Guildhall Courts, and in case of neglect that he be deposed. The deposition from the town clerkship took place in 1681, for "continued neglect in the execution of his office."

William Wiggins was fined 40*s.* for neglecting to take the oath on his election as one of the assistants.

It appears by the Statute-Book, under date the 3rd of September, 1683, that Wallingford did not escape the general

* Statute-Book, p. 33.

attack which the king made upon the charters of the cities and boroughs, in order to obtain Parliamentary influence. The charter he had granted soon after his restoration was surrendered under a *quo warranto*, to inquire into its validity, and a new one was bestowed, which, with little exception, was a transcript of the old one, except in conferring additional powers on the Crown. It is probable the corporation, in surrendering their charter, scarcely twenty years old, were too timid to resist, and on the issuing of the writ, followed the practice of many other corporate bodies, who, as Hume observes, "terrified by the arbitrary measures adopted against the city of London, had surrendered their ancient charters, and taken out new ones, for which considerable sums were exacted, and their offices of power and profit left at the disposal of the Crown." The expense of obtaining this new charter, and consequent on the suit, amounted to £119 3*s.* 9*d.*, according to an account rendered by the town clerk.* In this project of increasing the influence of the king and his partizans, the unprincipled lawyer, Jeffreys, afterwards high steward of the borough, took a leading part.

29th October, 1684, 36 Charles II. Pursuant to the new charter, the officers of the borough for the first year were appointed by David Bigge, Esq., Sheriff of Berks, who also appears to have been Mayor of Wallingford in that and the preceding years.

In the next year, the king exercised the power reserved to him, and removed from office several members, under the following Order of Council, dated at Windsor, 30th August, 1685:—

"Present. The king's most excellent Majesty in Council. Whereas, by the charter granted to the corporation of Wallingford, a power is reserved to his Majesty, by his Order in Council, to remove from his employment any officer in the said corporation; and his Majesty having received information of the misbehaviour of Anthony Leaver, senr., one of the aldermen, and John Wilder, John Riggins, and William Maxey, burgesses, of the said town; hath thought fit this day to declare his royal pleasure, and doth accordingly order that the said Anthony Leaver, John Riggins, John Wilder, and William Maxey, be, and they are hereby removed and dis-

* Statute-Book, p. 122.

placed from their respective offices of alderman and burgesses in the corporation of Wallingford."

This order was read at a meeting of the corporation on the 5th of October, 1685, and the several offices were declared void.

The same arbitrary exercise of power was followed, soon after the king's death, by his successor, James II. In violation of the popular declaration he made to the Privy Council, on the day the king died, that he would follow his brother's example in showing great clemency and tenderness to his people, we find him dismissing not only four, but no less than ten members of the corporation for no apparent fault, and appointing others in their stead. The Order of Council dated the 24th of February, was read at a meeting of the corporation on the 3rd of March, 1687, and the offices held by Anthony Leaver, junr., mayor; Daniel Parsons, alderman; Peter Sayer, town clerk; William Stephenson, Bartholomew Higgs, Thomas Bassett, Collen Denen, John Goddwyn, Henry Skinner, and Robert Keene, burgesses, declared void. It is also minuted, at the above and subsequent meetings, that certain persons, having been appointed by the king's mandate to supply the vacant offices, were duly sworn.

This summary dismissal without cause shown, and the appointment to the vacant offices, appear to have been an unjust assumption of prerogative on the part of the king; for although the charter gave the power of dismissing, on sufficient ground, it reserved no right to elect to the vacant offices.

It was about this time that a determined spirit of hostility against the sovereign set in, and openly manifested itself in the invitation to the Prince of Orange to rescue the kingdom from the king's oppression, as before observed; and then it was that the king signified his intention to redress the abuses which had lately been introduced into the management of corporations, through the authority given to the Crown, and he published a proclamation for restoring to all the boroughs their ancient charters and rights. But the king was too late to retrace his steps. The Prince of Orange had landed at Torbay, and at the close of 1688 was at Wallingford, on his way to London, where he secured the crown.

Notwithstanding the frequent ordinances of the council

respecting attendance on the mayor, no ready acquiescence was accorded in this or the following reign, and on several occasions more regular attendance was enjoined, under pain of increasing penalties.

In October, 1697 (William III.), an imperative order was made, at court, that the aldermen and assistants should meet at the mayor's house, and accompany him, on every public meeting, in their gowns; and that the chamberlain and bailiffs should accompany him every Sunday to church. In the next year, the penalty on a burgess, for not having his gown ready to attend the mayor on being summoned, was increased to 10*s.*; and in 1701, to 30*s.* The climax appears to have been reached at a later date.

At a court held on the 7th of June, 1700, John Whichelow, one of the burgesses, was voted out of the company, for absenting himself from the same, and, on appearing at the council, being "abusive to the mayor, and behaving very rudely."

In 1709, Thomas Maxey having been fined 3*s.* 4*d.* for non-attendance, it was ordered that the fine should be levied by distress of his goods, under the private seal of the mayor's mayoralty. Similar fines were imposed, in 1713, on Robert Payne and John Buckland, for neglecting to attend, to be recovered by distress and sale of their goods.

On the 27th of October, 1718, at a council, after reciting the order requiring the aldermen, chamberlain, and burgesses to provide gowns, under a penalty of 30*s.*, and to attend the mayor on being summoned, and that the orders had been neglected or refused to be kept by several members of the council, in defiance thereof, to the great abuse and disreputation of the body,—it was ordered that all the said bye-laws be ratified, and the penalties enforced in future. And it was further ordered that every burgess provide himself with such proper gown, to be lined with velvet or plush, under a penalty of 30*s.*, to be recovered by warrant of distress of the defendant's goods, under the hand and seal of the mayor.

In the next year, John Buckland, one of the eighteen assistants, for "obstinately neglecting and refusing to wear a gown, in defiance of and contrary to the bye-laws," was ordered to "be prosecuted, either by distress and sale of his goods for the penalties, or otherwise as shall be advised."

In October, 1755, Jeremiah Morrell, Richard Tappen, and Charles Gilbey were ordered to attend the next court, "to show cause why they should not be disfranchised and put off of their offices, for not attending the mayor upon lawful occasions and warnings;" and so late as the 5th of December, 1765, the council ordered Richard Hunter to be summoned to show cause why he should not be disfranchised, for non-attendance at the meetings.

At a meeting of the council held on the 1st of May, 1710, it was resolved as follows:—Philip Payne, one of the eighteen assistants, having absented himself from the borough, and "listed himself a Trooper in H.M.'s service, in the regiment under the command of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, we do therefore vote him out from being one of the 18 assistants, and do discharge him from giving further attendance, so that he may more duly attend her Majesty's service, in which he is liked."* Robert Maxey was elected in his stead.

In the following month, the above-mentioned Philip Payne instituted a writ of mandamus for having been displaced, and to be reinstated; whereupon it was ordered that all expenses attending the litigation, the result of which is not given, should be borne out of the public stock of the borough, and that the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and assistants be indemnified.

The mayors were formerly allowed an annual fee or salary, amounting to £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, which was subsequently increased to £10, and afterwards to £15. In 1688 (20th of October), it was ordered that the allowance to the mayor be no more continued for six years then next. The salary was increased in 1716 by an addition of £10, making the amount £25, and that of the recorder £5; but in 1723, the order of 1716 was revoked, as was also the order for the allowance of additional sums to the bridgemen and bailiffs. In 1765, the mayor's salary was fixed at £20, but for many years past no allowance has been made.

A printed particular of the estates belonging to the corporation, dated 1868, gives the following results:—

* Statute-Book, p. 233.

	£	s.	d.
Sundry properties, mostly houses, let on lease for terms not exceeding thirty-one years (except in one instance, the late gas works), at yearly rents amounting to	222	0	6
Pasture ground, part of Old Moor in St. Leonard's parish, containing 11a. 2r.	34	10	0
Other part of the same, containing 8a. 2r.; and plot of arable, containing 5a. 3r. 25p.	47	0	0
Tolls of markets and fairs	9	0	0
House property in the borough not in lease	40	1	0
Yearly rent-charge issuing out of lands at Sotwell	7	0	0
The like out of houses in Lower Green	0	10	0
House property in borough let at quarterly and weekly rents	26	10	0
Sundry cottages in borough, let at weekly rents, one house unoccupied	133	17	4
Sundry quit-rents, payable out of estates in borough	14	6	1
	£534	14	11

For summary of Bridge estate, see *post*.

Much of the house property, including that belonging to the bridge—a large proportion of which was in a bad, if not dilapidated condition, the leases of which had expired—has lately been sold by public auction, with the consent of the Lords of the Treasury, and the proceeds of the sale have been invested in the purchase of £3668 15*s.* 9*d.* new £3 per cent. annuities. There is also a sum of £434 13*s.* 5*d.* in the same stock belonging to the corporation.

It appears, by an account prepared in 1879, that the purchase money then received amounted to £3615, that the sum of £350 for lot 14 was unpaid; and that the expenses amounted to £199 1*s.* 3*d.* After deducting £121 5*s.* as the rateable proportion of the expenses, the sum of £2293 15*s.* is entered as belonging to the general corporate estate, and the

sum of £1472 3*s.* 9*d.* as belonging to the Bridge estate, the proportion of the expenses in respect of the latter estate being £77 16*s.* 3*d.*

The enclosures of pasture ground called the Kine Croft and Old, or Portman's, Moor were formerly held subject to certain common rights. The mayor for the time being had common for three kine, every burgess had a common for one cow, and other commons were attached to certain houses within the borough. These latter common rights were, by mutual arrangement made some years ago, commuted, the corporation agreeing to pay to the parties entitled 5*s.* for each common, in lieu of turning in. The right of commoning enjoyed by the mayor and burgesses by virtue of their offices, has long since fallen into disuse.

The Kine Croft is appropriated as a recreation ground for the inhabitants, and an annual sum of about £16 is received for the right of depasturing cows, at 28*s.* each.

The bounds or limits of the borough were perambulated in the years 1707, 1771, and 1806, and the boundaries are fully described in the books of the corporation under those dates.

The following list of mayors of the borough has been compiled from the archives of the corporation, and those in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and other sources :—

Henry III.

Alexander Dublet, several years.
Peter Pecock or Peakoc.
Clement the Clerk.
Master Peter de Benham, Warden of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist in Wallingford.
Nicholas Orfeure (or Goldsmith).

Edward I.

Thomas Hytone, Clerk of Chauseye (Cholsey), for seven years.
Thomas de Chauseye.
John Maryot.
Alexander de Stalles.
Richard de Brithwaltone.
John Luches.
Eustace the Goldsmith.

Edward II.

John Maryot, for seven years in this and preceding reign.
Nicholas de la Barre.
Richard de Brytwelton.

Edward III.

Richard Moryn.
Nicholas Payable.
John Mariot.
Thomas Benecheff, afterwards called Benshef.

Richard II.

Richard ate Felde (Attefelde).

Henry IV.

John Derby.

Henry V.

Richard Horloke.

Henry VI.

John Warfeld.
Laurence Haweman.

Henry VII.

1506. William a Dene.
1507. The same.
1508. The same.

Henry VIII.

1509. The same.
1510. The same.
1511. The same.
1512. John Sympson.
1513. Thomas Polenton.
1514. Lambert Osbeston.
1515. Thomas Polenton.
1516. William a Dene.
1517. Sir Thomas Williams, Parish Priest of St. Mary's.*
1518. The same.
1519. The same.
1520. The same.
1521. The same.
1522. John Sympson.
1523. The same.
1524. The same.
1525. Lambert Osbeston.
1526. William a Dene.
1527. Lambert Osbaston.
1528. The same.
1529. The same.
1530. Thomas Polington.
1531. The same.
1532. Lambert "Osbern."
1533. The same.
1534. William Adene.
1535. The same.
1536. Thomas Day.
1537. Thomas Pollington.
1538. Lambert Osbeston.
1539. Thomas Polington.
1540. William Adene.
1541. Lambert Osbaston.
1542. The same.
1543. Thomas Denton.
1544. William Adene.
1545. The same.
1546. The same.
1547. Robert Coxon or Cookson.

Edward VI.

1548. Henry Huntley.
1549. Ralph Pollynton.
1550. Henry Huntley.
1551. John Adeane.
1552. Ralph Pollynton.

Queen Mary.

1553. Robert Cockson.
1554. John Purdeyn.
1555. Ralph Polington.
1556. The same.
1557. The same.

Queen Elizabeth.

1558. Thomas Donington.
1559. John Quelch.
1560. John Purdeyn.
1561. ————
1562. ————
1563. Richard West.
1564. The same.
1565. The same.
1566. The same.
1567. Thomas Somyngford.
1568. Ralph Pollington.
1569. Thomas Donnington.
1570. ————
1571. ————
1572. ————
1573. ————
1574. ————
1575. ————
1576. Edward Byton.
1577. The same.
1578. Richard West.
1579. The same.
1580. The same.
1581. Thomas Edmyngton (Dennington).
1582. The same.

* Discreditable proceedings, affecting the moral character of this priest, are recorded in p. 26 of the Corporation Ledger.

1583. Albone Rusden.
1584. The same.
1585. The same.
1586. Edward Byton.
1587. John Quelch.
1588. Thomas Stamp.
1589. John Smythe.
1590. Richard Neighbour.
1591. John Quelch.
1592. John Smyth.
1593. Albone Rusden.
1594. John Smythe.
1595. The same.
1596. Richard Donington.
1597. Albone Rusden; died in his mayoralty, and was succeeded by
Richard Neighbour.
1598. Griffith Payne.
1599. The same.
1600. The same.
1601. Richard Donnington.
1602. Griffith Payne.

James I.

1603. The same.
1604. Thomas Cheyney.
1605. The same.
1606. The same.
1607. John Smythe.
1608. Thomas Cheyney.
1609. Griffith Payne.
1610. The same.
1611. Paul Pollington.
1612. William Dennington.
1613. John Hall.
1614. Griffith Payne.
1615. Thomas Cheyney.
1616. Griffith Payne.
1617. Paul Pollington.
1618. William Dennington.
1619. John Hall.
1620. John Smythe.
1621. Ambrose Cotterel.
1622. Richard Dennington.
1623. Thomas Rusden.
1624. Griffith Payne.

Charles I.

1625. Paul Pollington.
1626. John Smythe.
1627. Ambrose Cotterel.
1628. Thomas Rusden.
1629. John Banister.
1630. Thomas Rusden.
1631. Henry Ormsbee.
1632. Ambrose Cotterel.
1633. Paul Pollington.
1634. Griffith Payne.
1635. John Banister.
1636. Thomas Rusden.
1637. Henry Ormsbee.
1638. Ambrose Cotterel.
1639. Richard Dennington.
1640. John Bannister.
1641. John Smythe.
1642. Henry Ormsby.
1643. John Smythe.
1644–46. The borough was garrisoned by the king's troops, and the authority of the mayor superseded.
1647. William Loader; dismissed by an ordinance of the Long Parliament; succeeded by
Henry Cursell.
1648. John Rusden.

The Commonwealth.

1649. The same.
1650. Hugh Coles, appointed in the new charter.
1651. William Cooke.
1652. John Cox.
1653. ————
1654. Hugh Coles.
1655. William Cooke.
1656. Anthony Leaver.
1657. William Lane.
1658. Thomas Norton.
1659. Francis Knight.

Charles II.

1660. William Cooke.
1661. Thomas Norton.

1662. Thomas Norton; discharged from his office by his Majesty's Commissioners at a sessions held at Wallingford, and William Loader, who had been discharged by the Parliament in 1647, was appointed in his stead.
1663. Francis Day.
1664. Anthony Leaver.
1665. William Lane.
1666. Anthony Leaver.
1667. Richard Skinner.
1668. Nicholas Humfry.
1669. Moses Slade.
1670. The same.
1671. Thomas Norton.
1672. David Bigg.
1673. Anthony Leaver.
1674. Richard Skinner.
1675. Nicholas Humfry.
1676. Anthony Leaver.
1677. Moses Slade.
1678. David Bigg.
1679. Andrew Dael.
1680. Richard Skinner.
1681. Nicholas Humfrey.
1682. Andrew Dael.
1683. David Bigg.
1684. The same.

James II.

1685. Henry Eales.
1686. Peter Sayer.
1687. Anthony Leaver, junr.; discharged by Order of Council; succeeded by his father,
Anthony Leaver.
1688. Peter Wing chosen, but office served by
David Bigg.
1689. Moses Slade.

William and Mary.

1690. John Burkland (Buckland).
1691. Moses Slade.
1692. David Bigg.
1693. Richard Skinner.

William III.

1694. Nicholas Humfrey.
1695. John Buckland.
1696. Richard Payne.
1697. Richard Blackall.
1698. Nicholas Humfrey.
1699. John Buckland.
1700. Anthony Leaver.
1701. Richard Sayer.

Queen Anne.

1702. Richard Bigg.
1703. Richard Blackall.
1704. Richard Payne.
1705. The same.
1706. Richard Blackall.
1707. Richard Payne.
1708. Richard Sayer; died in his mayoralty; succeeded by Richard Blackall.
1709. Walter Bigg.
1710. Richard Blackall.
1711. Richard Bigg.
1712. Richard Blackall.
1713. Thomas Basset.

George I.

1714. Richard Wing.
1715. Thomas Basset.
1716. Richard Blackall.
1717. Richard Wing.
1718. Richard Blackall.
1719. Thomas Basset.
1720. Richard Blackall.
1721. Thomas Basset.
1722. Richard Bigg.
1723. Thomas Basset.
1724. Richard Wing.
1725. Richard Bigg.
1726. Richard Wing.

George II.

1727. Henry Fludger.
1728. Richard Wing.
1729. Richard Blackall.
1730. Richard Wing.

1731. Richard Burgess.
1732. Richard Payne; died in his mayoralty; succeeded by Cudworth Bruch.
1733. The same.
1734. William Staite.
1735. James Higgs.
1736. Cudworth Bruch.
1737. William Staite.
1738. James Higgs.
1739. Richard Burgess.
1740. Cudworth Bruch.
1741. Henry Fludger.
1742. Richard Burgess.
1743. John Bishop.
1744. Jonathan Mayne.
1745. Edward Wells, senr.
1746. John Bishop.
1747. Thomas Bishop.
1748. Henry Fludger.
1749. Jonathan Mayne; died in his mayoralty; succeeded by Edward Wells.
1750. Richard Toovey.
1751. Robert Mayne.
1752. Edward Wells.
1753. John Bishop.
1754. Thomas Bishop.
1755. Richard Toovey.
1756. Robert Mayne.
1757. Edward Wells.
1758. Joseph Tuckwell.
1759. Henry Fludger.

George III.

1760. Thomas Bishop.
1761. Job Wells.
1762. Richard Toovey.
1763. Robert Mayne.
1764. Edward Wells.
1765. Joseph Tuckwell.
1766. Thomas Bishop.
1767. Job Wells.
1768. William Fludger.
1769. Richard Toovey.
1770. Cudworth Bruch.
1771. Edward Wells.
1772. Richard Hunter.
1773. Charles Gilling.
1774. ————
1775. Joseph Tuckwell.
1776. Richard Hunter.
1777. Edward Wells.
1778. The same.
1779. Charles Gilling.
1780. Job Wells.
1781. Richard Hunter.
1782. Edward Wells.
1783. Charles Greenwood.
1784. Charles Gilling.
1785. Job Wells.
1786. Richard Hunter.
1787. Edward Wells.
1788. William Mayne.
1789. John Allnatt.
1790. Charles Gilling; died in his mayoralty, and was succeeded by Edward Wells.
1791. The same.
1792. Richard Hunter.
1793. Richard Burgess.
1794. William Mayne.
1795. John Allnatt.
1796. Edward Wells.
1797. Richard Burgess.
1798. William Mayne.
1799. John Allnatt.
1800. Richard Rathill.
1801. Edward Wells.
1802. Robert Dalzell.
1803. Richard Burgess.
1804. William Mayne.
1805. John Allnatt.
1806. Richard Rathill.
1807. Edward Wells.
1808. Robert Dalzell.
1809. Charles Atherton Allnatt.
1810. Edward Wells.
1811. John Allnatt.
1812. Richard Rathill.
1813. John Hedges.
1814. Robert Dalzell.
1815. Charles Atherton Allnatt.
1816. Edward Wells.
1817. Richard Rathill.

1818. —— Bennett.
1819. John Hedges.

George IV.

1820. Robert Dalzell.
1821. Charles Atherton Allnatt.
1822. Edward Wells.
1823. Richard Rathill.
1824. Job Wells.
1825. John Hedges, died March, 1826;
Thomas Greenwood succeeded.
1826. The same.
1827. Charles Atherton Allnatt.
1828. James Bennett.
1829. Humfrey Francis Walcot.

William IV.

1830. Edward Wells.
1831. Thomas Greenwood.
1832. Charles Atherton Allnatt.
1833. James Bennett.
1834. Humfrey Francis Walcot.
1835. John Field, elected 1st September.
1836. Charles Atherton Allnatt; first mayor under Municipal Corporations Act, 1st January, 1836.

Queen Victoria.

1836–37. John Field; elected 9th November, 1836.
1838. Edward Wells.
1839. Thomas Wells.
1840. John Marshall.
1841. John Field.
1842. Holland Thomas Birkett.
1843. Edward Wells, senr.; elected 9th November, 1842.
1843. William Spencer.
1844. Thomas Edward Field.
1845. Humfrey Francis Walcot.
1846. William Hilliard.
1847. Edward Wells.
1848. Thomas Edward Field.
1849. Robert Payne.
1850. Edward Wells.
1851. Thomas Edward Field.
1852. John Gosford Payne.
1853. Edward Henry Payne.
1854. Robert Payne.
1855. Edward Wells.
1856. Thomas Edward Field.
1857. William Hilliard.
1858. Robert Payne.
1859. Edward Wells.
1860. John Hilliard.
1861. Edward Reynolds.
1862. The same.
1863. Thomas Edward Field.
1864. Robert Payne.
1865. John Hilliard.
1866. Thomas Edward Field.
1867. Henry Hawkins.
1868. The same.
1869. William Franklin.
1870. Edward Wells.
1871. Robert Payne.
1872. John Hilliard.
1873. Thomas Arthur Champion.
1874. Thomas Frederick Wells.
1875. The same.
1876. William Payne.
1877. Richard Deacon.
1878. The same.
1879. Henry Hawkins.
1880. The same.

The Guild.

We now proceed to give such particulars from the corporation books, which commence in 1507, and from other sources, as may be considered to fall more properly under the above head. Prior to the commencement of the sixteenth

century, little is known beyond the fact that a guild or fraternity, having large privileges, with laws and customs under which the safety and protection of the town were secured, existed from the time of the Confessor, as previously stated, vol. i. p. 277. Under it strangers were excluded from residing in, and carrying on any trade or manufacture within, the borough, till they had purchased permission to do so, after which they were considered freemen, and entitled to all rights of the guild. These rights were very extensive, and descended to the children of all the resident freemen, who, for a small fine paid to the guild merchant, were allowed to exercise their trade or profession unmolested. It would seem that the constitution of the old guild was altered under the charter which Henry II. granted to the town, and that it then ceased to exercise its functions as a distinct trading community; it being in fact merged, if not entirely, to a great extent, in the more general institution, with the mayor at its head, which it is supposed had its origin under that charter. There is a long gap between Henry II. and Henry VII., during which scarcely any reference to the guild has been found, but when we reach the latter reign, the entries in the Corporation Ledger show, beyond doubt, that the two institutions had merged into one. Thus in 1508, before William Adene the younger, mayor, Geoffrey Baynton, Robert Helon, and William Hyll, dyers, were admitted freemen, and sworn, giving to the box 6*s.* 8*d.* In the reign of Henry VIII., foreigners (persons not having obtained their freedom) were prohibited, by decree of the great court which the mayor held, from trading in the town. In 1608, William Cooper, dyer, being a foreigner, not having served as an apprentice within the borough, nor there made a freeman, was allowed by a decree of the same court to use his trade in the borough, on his forbearing to trade within the markets of Wantage and Thame, and paying a fine. Richard ——, tailor, was decreed by the Borough Court to leave the town within ten days, unless he obtained the good will of the tailors in the borough for his keeping shop in the town. Edward Wise, being a foreigner, was restricted from carrying on his trade of a currier, unless he gave good security not to dress, curry, or sell such tanned leather as is now tanned and sold within the borough by one Abraham Beale.

In 1610, an ordinance passed the Court of Common Council to empower apprentices to be enrolled as freemen, and to prevent persons, not being freemen, from keeping shop or carrying on trade within the borough.

A dispute between Wallingford and Oxford curriers, the former claiming restrictive rights, resulted in the Oxford currier being allowed to trade, "provided he does not dress, curry, or sell, the tanned leather of one Beale, out of the town."

On the 1st of July, 1615, "Francis Deacon, of Abingdon, haberdasher, was allowed by the common council of the borough, in consideration of 40*s.* paid to the said board, to keep shop on fair and market days within the said borough, and that all other foreigners of his trade shall be restrained for the market days, and all other days, fair days excepted.

"(Signed) EDWARD CLARKE, Recorder."

Another instance occurs in 1621, when one Wildgoose, a glazier, and others, were permitted by the council to keep shop and to dwell in the town, upon paying a fine of 20*s.* each.

The resolutions adopted restrictive of free trade in the borough are numerous, as being "contrary to the orders, liberties, and laudable customs of the town, and contrary to the directions of the high steward."

Some forty-five years after the above date, the guild was re-established, the corporation taking the initiative.

At a Court of Common Council held on the 30th of January, 1663, it was ordained that all trades, arts, or manual occupations within the borough shall consist of one body or company, to be called by the name of "The Company of Drapers." And in subsequent entries the ancient customs and franchises of the borough for regulating the various trades are recognized.

In about a year afterwards, namely, on the 1st of July, 15 Charles II., letters patent were granted to the borough, whereby it was empowered to establish a society, guild, or fraternity, of one master and two wardens of any art, mystery, or occupation. This charter, which settled the form of government, and legalized certain customs which were perhaps not well defined before, was not put in force till the year

1667. In the interim, as appears by the Statute-Book, 14th December, 1664, William Quelch was admitted by the council to use his trade of a tallow chandler within the borough, on payment of a fine of 20 nobles.

We next get the creation of the guild under the letters patent:—"20th September, 1667. At a court held this day, after reciting that the king had conferred on the borough a charter, granting large privileges, and among them the privilege of establishing a society, guild, or fraternity of one master and two wardens, the mayor, burgesses, and commonalty, at the request of divers tradesmen, and for the advancement of trade within the borough, did create and establish the said guild accordingly, to be one body corporate politique, and corporate, with succession for ever."

Then follows the appointment of William Loader to be the first master, and John Angier and Henry Richards the first wardens,—such officers to be appointed yearly, and to take an oath for the due performance of their duties. The mayor for the time being was empowered to amove and depose the master and wardens on any lawful occasion; and successors were to be appointed by the guild on death or removal.

Three months after the date of the above resolution, the mayor, burgesses, and commonalty, in exercise of the power they had by "ancient custom to make bye-laws for the good government of the borough," and in order to prevent "divers foreigners from defrauding the ancient liberties and customs thereof, by putting to sale their wares by subtle means, ordained that no person, not being a freeman, shall sell any wares by retail within the borough, or use any trade or handicraft therein, under a penalty of 20*s.* for every time." * A like penalty was imposed for any indirect attempt to evade the ordinance, and powers of distress and sale were given for recovering the penalties.

No bye-law in the Statute-Book regulates the amount of fine to be paid for admission to the freedom of the borough; the corporation appears to have exercised at all times an arbitrary power of assessment, and in more recent years to have added to the money fine the obligation of giving a "treat" to their own body. These fines, and those imposed

* Page 37.

on trading without a licence, must have been, judging from the number of entries, a profitable source of income.

5th September, 1681. At a court—

John Winter, glover,	was fined	40*s.*	for trading, not being a freeman.
John Lomax, tailor,	,,	£5	,, ,,
Samuel Abbott	,,	£5	,, ,,
John Moody	,,	£5	,, ,,
John Rusden, goldsmith	,,	£15	,, ,,
Ralph Norton, apothecary	,,	£10 (remitted to £5)	,,

11th August, 1686—

Joseph Corderoy, tailor,	,,	£8	for trading, not being a freeman.

20th September, 1692—

William Wells, chandler and mercer,	was fined	£5	,,
Jonas Low, barber,	,,	20*d.*	,,
Joseph Kidder, chirurgeon	,,	£5	,,
James Groyna, tanner,	,,	£5	,,

John Sims to be fined £10, "if he comes to set up in the town."

At a court held 28th May, 1687, a fine of £12 was set on William Bushnell for his freedom, and of £4 on James Smith for the like.

In April, 1697, a writ was ordered against "Henry Fludger, for exercising his trade of a tanner, not being made free." Afterwards, on his paying a fine of £6 and the legal expenses, he was admitted a freeman.

Towards the end of 1698, an addition to the pecuniary fine for trading without being licensed as a freeman, was imposed.

Robert Sayer, for using the trade of a tobacconist, was fined three guineas, one leathern bucket, and a treat. Job Massey, for trading as a fellmonger, was mulcted 20*s.* fine, and a treat to the corporation to the value of 20*s.*

In 1699, a leathern bucket and a treat to the corporation were added to the customary payment for admission to the freedom of the borough; and in 1700, the bye-laws which were passed in 1666 relating to freemen were revived and confirmed. In the same year, the providing a bucket and a

treat were made part of the consideration on the renewal of leases, as was the case with Richard Hucks in that year.

Soon afterwards it was ordered that no person should be made a freeman under a fine of £10 at least. This heavy penalty led to constant attempts at evasion, and obliged the corporation to readopt repressive measures, and give greater facilities for the recovery of the penalties, by ordinances adopted at court. These ordinances proving ineffectual, the guild, which had been dormant for so long a time, was revived under the letters patent of Charles II.

At a common council held on the 20th of September, 1701, the mayor, burgesses, and commonalty ordained that all persons who were then using or should thereafter use any art, mystery, or occupation in the borough or the liberties thereof, should be a body corporate, guild, or fraternity, by the name of the master, wardens, and assistants of every art, mystery, and occupation used in the borough or the liberties thereof, and have succession and a common seal. Anthony Leaver was appointed master; other office-bearers were elected, and provisions were made for supplying vacancies.

Two years had scarcely elapsed when the guild, if not dissolved, was shorn of its corporate character, and the ordinance under which it was formed was made void, on the ground that "it was found by experience that the same ordinance was not only prejudicial but destructive to the common weal and good government of us, the said mayor, burgesses, and commonalty." There was, however, a reservation, whereby the income to be derived from fines on being made free, etc., was maintained. Within a fortnight, penalties of £5, four guineas, and 2 guineas and a leathern bucket, were set on Thomas Maxey, —— Bullock, and another, for exercising their trades in the borough; and in 1705, —— Quartermann was made a freeman, to exercise the trade of a plumber and glazier only, on payment of a fine of £5, "2 leathern buckets, and a very good treate."

In this year a summary mode of enforcing payment of a fine was adopted. It was ordered by the council that the sergeants-at-mace, on Friday morning next, do shut down the shop windows of James Biggs, for "his exercising his trade of a goldsmith within the borough, he refusing to submit to the payment of a fine."

A fine of £6 and a treat to the corporation, commuted at £1 6*s.* 8*d.*, was the price paid in 1706 for using the trade of a brazier; and in 1708, fines of two guineas and one guinea were deemed sufficient, without the treat, for enabling Thomas Heath and Joseph Corderoy to carry on their trade of "barber-surgeon."

It was not long before differences arose respecting the legality of the imposition of these fines; and among those who refused to pay the sums assessed on them for exercising their trades in 1713, were Richard Wilder, ironmonger, and Richard Tuckwell, ironmonger. Legal proceedings were ordered by the council to be instituted against these tradesmen, but the result is not given.

About this time, the opinion of Sir Edward Northey, Attorney-General, was taken on the question of restraining "foreigners" from the exercise of their trades within the borough, and recovering the penalties, and we must suppose that the opinion (which is not set out) was favourable to the corporation, for at the meeting at which it was read, there is an order that certain persons named should be immediately proceeded against, and a clockmaker, named William Gun, was to be excluded from the borough, unless he departed within a month.

Mr. Attorney's opinion evidently encouraged the council to more vigorous action; and at meetings in 1714–15, orders were made for the institution of proceedings against divers persons, for using their trades in breach of the bye-laws, and not paying the fines, which embraced treats to the company and buckets. And another order was made that foreigners keeping stalls for vending their commodities, to the damage of any freeman, should be "suppressed" or prosecuted.

A more liberal spirit appears to have actuated the corporation in the year 1717, when, at a council meeting, sixteen tradesmen were sworn freemen, "being entitled thereto by service and by patrimony." And, with one exception in 1718, when fines for freedom were set on John Goss, William Stale, and Christopher Irving, there is an absence in the Statute-Book of any entry respecting freemen till 1733. In that year, Henry Wheeler was admitted a freeman, on paying two guineas, one guinea for a treat, and 3*s.* 6*d.* for a bucket; and David Jones, a baker, was admitted, on giving a note for the

fine and treat, commuted at £2 2*s*. The last entry in the corporation books of an admission to freedom is in 1742, when "Charles Golding, an apothecary, was admitted a freeman, and he paid his fine of four guineas and hall fees, and he is to give a treat and two buckets."

Among those on whom the freedom of the borough was conferred, as an honorary distinction and to qualify them for taking office, and who were sworn on admission, were—

20th March, 1684, 1 James II. Lord Viscount Falkland; Sir Henry Fane, Knight of the Bath; Thomas Tipping, Esq.; John Dormer, Esq.; and William Tipping, gentleman.

17th October, 1695. Sir Talbot Clerke, of Putney, Surrey, Bart.; and Edmund Dunch, Esq.

1st January, 1700. Thomas Renda, Esq., of Wallingford Castle.

20th May, 1708. James Jennings, Esq., of Shiplake.

30th May, 1710. Simon Harcourt, Esq.

26th July, 1722. Honourable George Parker, commonly called Lord Parker.

High Steward.

By the establishment of chartered communities, the inhabitants of borough towns were in a great measure protected from the oppression of the feudal lords, and enjoyed more freedom and security in their persons and properties than those who were not so privileged, and to many of whom a degrading vassalage under these lords attached from the era of the Norman Conquest to the reign of Henry VIII., and amongst the lowest class of inhabitants somewhat later. Nevertheless, the corporation found it necessary to seek some powerful protector, who, by his interest with the reigning monarch or otherwise, might defend them against the abuse of power, and watch over and protect their rights. Hence the practice of electing a high steward was adopted by all corporate bodies, who invariably selected some person of exalted rank, frequently a minister of the Crown, to fill the office, which has now become merely an honorary distinction.

At what period the practice commenced in this borough is uncertain. The first mention of a high steward is in the year 1597, when Lord Norries held that office, as appears by

the following entry in the Corporation Ledger:—"The Right Honourable John Fortescue, Knight, Chancellor of his Highness's Court of Exchequer, and one of his most honourable Privy Counsellors, was chosen high steward of the said borough, to come into the said office immediately on the decease of the Lord Norries, now high steward of the same, for and during the natural life of the said John Fortescue, K^t."

Signed by Griffith Payne, mayor, five aldermen, and thirteen burgesses, of whom one alderman and three burgesses signed by their marks only.

There must have been some cogent reason for this anticipated appointment of a high steward, though it is not mentioned in the minute; neither do we find by any entry when he succeeded to, nor how long he continued in, the office. Lord Norris died in 1600.

The copy of a letter sent by the corporation to Lord Howard, on his appointment of high steward in 1632 (Charles I.), is set out under that date; and is remarkable for its abject and sycophantic tone, so unlike the fearless spirit of independence which the corporation afterwards evinced in reinstating their mayor, who had been ejected from office by the commissioners under the Act of 13 Charles II.

The letter asserts that the choice of his lordship was made not only by the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, but also by the commonalty, or inhabitants at large; the latter class do not appear, on any previous or subsequent occasion, to have voted in the election of the high steward or of any of the corporate body.

On the election of the high steward, it was customary to present to him the instrument of appointment in a silver box. On the appointment of the Earl of Abingdon, in August, 1760, three guineas were given to the earl's servants on the presentation.

List of High Stewards.

Date of election.

1597. (prior to) The Right Honourable Lord Norries (Norris), son of Henry Norris, who was Constable of Wallingford Castle, and beheaded in 1536.

1601. The Right Honourable Sir John Fortescue, Knight, Chancellor of the Court of Exchequer.

Date of election.

1621. The Right Honourable Baron Knollys, of Grays, afterwards Viscount Wallingford, and in 1626 Earl of Banbury.

1632. Thomas Lord Howard, Baron of Charlton, Viscount Andover and Earl of Berks, Knight of the Garter.

1669. The Right Honourable John, Lord Lovelace, Baron of Hurley, Lord-Lieutenant of Berks.

1670. The Right Honourable Lord Arlington.

1681. The Right Honourable George, Lord Jeffrey, Baron of Wem—the notorious Lord Chief Justice who died in the Tower at the time of the Revolution in 1688.

1689. The Right Honourable John, Lord Lovelace, Baron of Hurley.

1694. The Right Honourable James, Earl of Abingdon, Baron of Rycott.

1699. The Right Honourable Montague, Earl of Abingdon. On this occasion there was the very unusual occurrence of a contest for the office, Henry, Duke of Norfolk; Montague, Earl of Abingdon; and Edward Dunch, Esq., having been proposed. No vote was given to the duke; Lord Abingdon had fifteen votes, and Mr. Dunch six.

1743. The Right Honourable Willoughby, Earl of Abingdon, Baron of Rycott.

1760. The Right Honourable Willoughby, Earl of Abingdon, son of the above.

Thus the elder sons of this noble family were successively elected high stewards for Wallingford for more than a century, commencing in 1694 and ending in 1799, when the last-named earl died.

1779. Sir Francis Sikes, Baronet, of Basildon Park.

1806. The Right Honourable Jacob, Earl of Radnor, Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Berks, and a grant to him of a yearly rent of 6*s.* 8*d.* out of the estates of the corporation passed the common seal.

Date of election.

1828. Richard Benyon de Beauvoir, Esq.; resigned 1844, at the age of seventy-five, after holding the office for sixteen years.

1845. The Right Honourable George Henry, Earl of Falmouth.

1852. Thomas Duffield, Esq.

1854. The Right Honourable the Earl of Malmesbury.

Steward, or Recorder.

The steward, or recorder, was a law officer, appointed under the charter, to assist and advise the municipal officers of the borough in all legal transactions. It was part of his duty to attend the mayor on all public occasions, and to preside at the Court of Quarter Sessions, in which he was regarded as the chief. Formerly the recorder was appointed, like the high steward, for life; but afterwards a majority of the corporate body had the power to remove him, "upon just and lawful grounds." A salary varying from £1 to £6 per annum was allowed him, which, taken alone, must have been a very inadequate remuneration for the services expected to be rendered; but the honor of representing the borough in Parliament, which in later years appears to have been attached to the office, was doubtless more highly valued than any pecuniary consideration. In 1612, it was ordered, at a council meeting, that at all court days, election days, law days, and days for town business, the recorder's entertainment should be given by the mayor, and his horse meat be allowed by the bailiffs, "provided he be staid in the town on such business, otherwise not." To show that the recordership and the representation of the borough were held by the same person, we find, in 1582 (26 Elizabeth), that Thomas Stamp was elected to the stewardship for life, and in 1588, he represented the borough in Parliament. So again in 1638, Anthony Barker was elected recorder for life, and in 1640 he was chosen mem- of Parliament for the borough. A few years earlier, Mr. Edward Clarke, who was elected recorder after the corporation had engaged to elect Mr. George Symonds as their representative, abandoned his claim, on being "entreated" to do so, to enable the corporation to carry out their engagement. It is easy to imagine why this great constitutional privilege passed

into the hands of the recorder, as a more fit recipient of the honor than any other corporate officer. Many of the body, we must conclude, did not stand high in intellectual acquirement, and possibly would not be regarded as worthy of much consideration in the Legislative Assembly. At any rate, they had not acquired the same qualification as the recorder, who, having been educated for a learned profession, was better fitted for the post. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the corporation willingly resigned the honor in favour of their superior officer, in order that the interests of the borough might be better served.

After a time, the value of this privilege becoming more understood, and gentlemen unconnected with the corporation, except as freemen, offering to serve without remuneration, the recorder's claim to represent the borough began, about the close of the reign of Charles I., to be disputed, and was soon after abolished altogether.

Another privilege was claimed by the recorder, that of appointing the town clerk. This was put to the test in 1648, when the recorder, Mr. Anthony Barker, assuming the sole right of election, appointed Mr. Thomas Allen, of Ewelme; he also assumed the power of fixing the day and time for holding the weekly meetings of the corporation, and in a minute which he directed the town clerk to enter in the Statute-Book without the sanction of the council, fines of 2*s.* and 3*s.* are stated to be the penalties for non-attendance. The corporation claimed the right to elect under their charter, by reference to the privileges of Winchester, and it was mutually agreed that "the town clerk's place and proceedings of this court be in manner and form so as it is at Winchester, the corporation sending thither, and bringing a certificate from thence, how and after what manner the town clerk officiateth and enjoyeth his place there."* In July following, the certificate was brought from Winchester, under the hand of the mayor and the city seal; but not being in the recorder's favour, he refused to be bound by it; and on several occasions declined to give the mayor his assistance, alleging (as the minute states) that "he would not come into the court to be judge against himself." Continuing his contumacy, the corporation, by resolution, discharged him from his office, "in

* Statute-Book.

regard he hath not performed divers promises and agreements which he made unto and with the said corporation, in open court, the 24th of May, 1648, and in regard he did likewise refuse to give the mayor his assistance at the court holden for the borough on the 5th of July, 1648; being often required thereto, he refused to come, being at the same time within the borough." These entries are from the Statute-Book, and being *ex parte*, and made at a time when strong conflicting opinions prevailed in the borough, may be somewhat coloured. When Mr. Barker was elected, the town was garrisoned by the king's troops, and the greater part, if not the whole of the corporate body, consisted of Royalists, or such as through fear coincided with them. But at the period when this contention took place, the town had been given up to the Parliament, members of the corporation had been ejected and others placed in their stead, who now would naturally seek to avenge themselves, for former wrongs, by disfranchising the recorder and others who were friends to the monarchy. This view is strengthened by the fact that, on the restoration of Charles II., Mr. Barker was reinstated in his office, under the charter granted by that monarch. On the removal of Mr. Barker, the corporation came to the following resolution:—"That Bartholomew Hall, Esq., is chosen Recorder, if he please to accept thereof, and we do agree and think fit to give him a salary or fee of £4 per annum, to be levied as followeth:—20*s.* a year from the bridge money, £3 a year from the bailiffs, if they shall have so much of the town money in their hands, and if not . . . whatsoever shall be wanting, shall be made up and paid by the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses."

It is probable Mr. Hall did not accept the office, for in 1649, Winslow Crooke, Esq., was elected, at the yearly fee of £3, of which 10*s.* was to be paid by the bailiffs, 20*s.* by the bridgemen, and 30*s.* from the town clerk out of his fees of court there, and on official occasions he was to be entertained by the mayor.

The difficulty which the corporation appears to have experienced in raising this trifling salary, and the necessity for trenching on the emoluments of the town clerk, may be accounted for by the impoverished state of the borough, owing to the long siege it had undergone during the continuance of the civil war, whereby trade must have been almost

annihilated, and the inhabitants reduced to a serious state of poverty.

We pass over a good many entries in the corporation books which are not of sufficient interest to be noted. One of the entries asserts "that Mr. Bassett, the late mayor, hath been wilfully irregular and unjust, by ordering £8 8*s.* to Thomas Hiscocks, Esq., the recorder, without an order of council, on account of a pretended bill, etc.;" and he and the recorder are to be accountable for the money as confederately and irregularly received. Afterwards, it appearing that "Mr. Bassett unadvisedly gave the order," and Mr. Hiscocks being dead, the same is ordered to be allowed out of the accounts of the corporation, tender regard being had in the premises.

15th January, 1732. Henry Stevens, Esq., serjeant-at-law, the recorder, having neglected to attend the court to show cause why he should not be removed for not attending the quarter sessions on two occasions, pursuant to notice, was displaced from his office.

List of Recorders or Stewards from the Twenty-sixth Year of Queen Elizabeth.

1582. Thomas Stamp.
1606. Edward, afterwards Sir Edward, Clarke.
1638. Anthony Barker.
1648. Bartholomew Hall.
1649. Winslow Crooke.
1663. Anthony Barker.
1666. Richard Holloway.
1684. John Holloway, who by deed resigned his office in 1710.
1710. Thomas Hiscocks.
1726. Henry Stevens.
1732. Robert Hucks.
Seymour Richmond.
1749. William Blackstone, afterwards the Honourable Mr. Justice Blackstone.
1770. The Honourable Thomas Francis Wenman.
1784. Thomas Mills.
1807. John Mackaness.
1824 (March). William Manby.
1824 (August). Charles Peers.
1831. Thomas Tipping Rigby, who continued in office till the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act, which deprived the town of its sessions.

Aldermen.

The next in rank to the mayor were the aldermen, who alone were entitled to fill that office by an election among themselves. Though in later years the aldermen were generally elected to the mayoralty in rotation, at the present time no such rule prevails, and both the election to and duration of

the office are regulated by the Municipal Corporations Act. It was the duty of the aldermen to attend the mayor on all public occasions, and on failure they were liable to be deprived of their office; as in 1632, when two aldermen were disfranchised for not doing suit and service, and for being absent from the town; and in 1648, William Loader and Nicholas Crouch, aldermen, were "put forth and excluded for adhering to the king." In 1609, William James, a burgess, was elected to serve the office of alderman, which he refused to accept, and was fined 2*s.* 6*d.* This measure was probably sanctioned at the time by custom or by some of the former charters granted to the corporation; and although the fine in this case was small, there appears to have been no limit as to the amount which might have been imposed.

Thus in 1782, Mark Morrell, John Greenwood, and Henry Wheeler were fined £20 each for not taking office as aldermen. John Allnatt, who was town clerk, was fined £10 for refusing to be sworn as alderman; but on it appearing that the two offices were incompatible, the fine was remitted. There must have been some special reason to account for the refusal on the part of three gentlemen, in every way eligible, to take an office, which, being considered an honorable one, was, as a rule, readily accepted by the leading inhabitants. These several refusals led the corporation to increase the penalty to £50 in the case of aldermen, and from £10 to £25 in the case of the eighteen assistants, on the ground that the then existing fines were insufficient. This resolution remained in force till the 7th of February, 1788, when it was rescinded, "inconvenience having been experienced therefrom," and it was ordered that no fine should in future be accepted for excusing any person from serving the office of alderman or assistant. Consequently, in 1793, no fines were imposed on Charles Morrell, Thomas Greenwood, and Robert Dalzell, for refusing to take office, nor was any step taken to support the resolution whereby these gentlemen were elected. A few years afterwards, however, the corporation determined to enforce their orders. James Parker was elected alderman in 1796, and declined to serve. The abrogation of the remedy by fine placed them evidently in a difficulty. First, they resolved to proceed by way of mandamus; this failing, or having been abandoned, they ordered an indictment to be preferred against

Mr. Parker at the assizes. The contention, however, ceased on this gentleman agreeing to pay £60, and be excused from serving. In July in the next year, the corporation reimposed the penalty of £50.

Every alderman had to provide on his appointment two leathern buckets, to be brought in and remain in the town hall for any emergency of fire; but the custom is not now observed.

Town Clerk.

The town clerk is likewise a law officer appointed to assist the mayor in the municipal duties of his office, and he is the custodian of all the archives of the corporation. He is elected by the members of the corporation, although their right to do so was, as we have seen, disputed in 1648. The charter of Charles II. removes any doubt that may have existed, and renders necessary the consent of the Crown to the appointment. He must be sworn in before executing the duties of his office.

The following is a list of the town clerks, from the date of the charter, 15 Charles II. (1662):—

1662. William Loader.
1662. Peter Sayer.
1667. Elias Smith.
1667. Thomas Wollascot.
1668. Peter Sayer.
1692. Moses Slade.
1694. Henry Poul.
1713. Seymour Richmond.
1732. Richard Toovey.
1750. John Toovey.
1776. John Allnatt.
1789. Charles Atherton Allnatt.
1789. John Hedges.
1811. John Allnatt Hedges.
1854. John Kirby Hedges.
1866. Charles Hedges.

Burgesses, or Assistants.

During a long series of years the corporate body experienced various changes in its constitution, but the number of aldermen appears to have been always the same, except in the few instances mentioned; the more material alteration that took place was by the addition of assistants, from among whom the aldermen were chosen,—before the alteration the aldermen were elected by the freemen. It is uncertain when this change was made, but it must have been previous to 26 Elizabeth, at which time the number of assistants was twelve only, increased to eighteen by the charter of Charles II. On their election to office, the assistants originally paid a fine, which was not fixed at any particular sum, but left to the

discretion of the mayor and aldermen, except on the occasion of an alderman entering on his first mayoralty, when he was allowed to nominate a burgess on a vacancy in the number, and remit the fine and fees. Thus in the year 1621, Roger Davis, John Withers, Robert Brown, and Thomas Eldridge, were chosen burgesses, and all of them, except John Withers, paid the fine of 20*s*. Withers was accepted without paying any fine, having been brought in by the mayor, according to the custom, in the first year of his mayoralty. Residence within the borough was an obligation imposed on all burgesses. Thus we find in 1597, Peter Small, of Mackney, was disfranchised for non-residence. Disfranchisement was also the penalty on a burgess for misbehaviour in office, which, during the violence of party animosities in the seventeenth century, had a very wide signification. As previously stated, a burgess was disfranchised in 1599 for "behaving rudely" to the mayor. In 1632, another underwent the same punishment for being absent from the town and not doing suit and service; and in 1648, two others were excluded from the company for adhering to the king. During the short but arbitrary reign of James II., the mayor and several burgesses were removed from their offices by an order from the king in Council. Some of these removals, however, arose out of the political circumstances of the times, and cannot be considered as precedents for future guidance, although the power of the corporate body at large to remove any of its members on just grounds is undoubted. By the charter of Charles this power is expressly reserved.

Bailiffs and Chamberlain.

In addition to the officers before-named, the corporation was authorized to choose two bailiffs and a chamberlain from amongst the eighteen burgesses, for the administration of pecuniary and other matters; but the appointment of constables for the year, and the nomination of the two sergeants-at-mace were vested in the mayors for the time being, alone. The office of bailiff is as ancient as the first establishment of the corporate body, probably earlier. One of their principal duties was to collect the fee farm and other rents within the borough, and to enter them in a book for the inspection and examination of the other members of the cor-

poration, when called for. These fee farm rents originally belonged to the Crown, and were farmed by the corporation at different periods, for sums varying according as the town was either in a prosperous or decaying state. Another equally important duty was to pay the rent into the Exchequer every year. In the reign of the Confessor, the fee farm rents amounted to 62*d.*, according to Domesday Book. After the town had been nearly destroyed by the Danes, nothing was realized for some time. Henry I. remitted £15, owing to the decay of trade, out of £43 9*s.* 4*d.* which, it appears, was the sum credited to the Exchequer by Brian Fitzcount, in 1131, as then due. In Henry the Second's reign, the rents were £15 4*s.* 10*d.* for the year, which the bailiffs (Wall, and Pistor, the baker) had neglected to pay into the Exchequer for three years and a half. For this arrear the town was seized. What the amount per annum was in the time of Edward I. does not appear, but the bailiffs were again in default to the extent of £80 for arrears due to the Exchequer, and for which the town was again seized, *ante*, vol. i. pp. 304, 353. This was rather a harsh proceeding, considering how fearfully it had suffered, during the long reign of Henry III., from the commotions caused by the discontented barons. The wants, however, of Edward I., in supporting his army in the conquest of Scotland, may have obliged him to resort to every means in his power to raise supplies, and hence, perhaps, a strictness in enforcing these petty rents was rendered necessary. Subsequent to the reign of Henry VIII., these fee farm rents appear to have passed from the Crown, and for many years past a fixed or commuted sum of £33 12*s.* has been paid to Head Pottinger Best, Esq., who has lately sold the same to the corporation for £1000. In the deed of conveyance, the annual sum is stated to have been reduced from £43, formerly paid.

The Common Seal.

The impression on the corporation seal represents a knight on horseback, in complete armour, with an escutcheon on his breast; he has a helmet on his head surmounted by a lion, and a drawn sword in his hand; the horse appears fording a river. The general opinion of the inhabitants appears to have been—but whether from tradition or otherwise is un-

certain—that the person here represented was intended for King Stephen; but as we have hereafter observed, the greater probability is that the figure is that of Henry II., whose cause the town supported in opposition to that of Stephen, and who granted to them their first charter of liberties, under which a common seal would be a necessary adjunct, as evidencing their corporate character. The figure of the monarch passing a river is suggestive of the convention which was concluded at Wallingford on the river-bank. Round the seal is inscribed the following words, in old English characters:—"Sigillum commune de Wallingford." There is also a smaller seal, which was presented to the corporation by Mr. Robert Hucks (*ante*, vol. ii. p. 187), in 1733. By an entry in the Ledger, 18th October, 1832, it appears to be for the private use of the mayor and town clerk. It bears the town arms, namely, a portcullis in the centre of a circle, referring, no doubt, to the portcullis by which the main gateway entrance to the Castle was defended. Round the edge is the following inscription in old English characters:—"Sigillum Burgi Wallingford."

In the 851st volume of Ashmole's MSS., fol. 1, in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford, is the impression of both seals, together with the copy of the Heralds' certificate, and a short introduction by that author as follows:—"Wallingford, a city of note in the tyme of the Romans, but now (shorn of its ancient greatness) is reduced to a small corporation, which consisteth of a mayor, high steward, recorder, and aldermen. The seals of the said corporation are above depicted."

Heralds' certificate of the corporation—

"At the time of this present visitation, Francis Day was mayor; Thomas, Earl of Berks, was high steward; Anthony Barker, Esquire, Recorder; William Loader, senior, Thomas Eldridge, William Lane, Anthony Lane, and Richard Skinner, aldermen.

"In witness, etc., 14th March, 17 Charles II., A.D. 1664.

"FRA. DAYE."

The seal of the borough, in green and white wax, is attached to a deed, 28 Edward I., among the corporation muniments. It does not vary from that now in use, except

that the horse's mane is plaited, and the figure does not appear to be in mail armour.

Wallingford Bridge.

Tradition fixes the date of the erection of this ancient bridge about six hundred years after Christ; but as the first bridge of stone was, according to Fosbroke, not built in England till A.D. 1118 (at Bow, near Stratford), and according to Hume,* somewhat later by Maud the empress, it follows that either the original structure must have been of wood, or the date given in the time of the Britons and Anglo-Saxons is not reliable. That there was a bridge here in the time of King Stephen is shown by what has been previously stated (vol. i. p. 248), and we must conclude it was chiefly constructed of wood, as was the case with old London Bridge, and was supplanted by a structure of stone and flint. Wooden bridges, upon the Roman model, were frequent in England before those of stone were introduced. Man, who wrote his MS. in 1818, considers the bridge was first erected in the reign of Henry III., in the thirteenth century, by Richard, King of the Romans, and that it became vested in the corporation in the fifth year of Henry VIII. It is likely that Richard, King of the Romans, who expended such vast sums in improving the Castle and town, may have given to the original structure a much more substantial character than it previously possessed; but it is clear he was not the founder, and also that the corporation had an interest in the bridge before the reign of Henry VIII. The first reference to it in the corporation books is in the year 1507, when, 22nd April, 22 Henry VII., "Master Mayor commanded the bridgemen to distrain for any arrears belonging to the bridge." † At an earlier period, 51 Edward III. (1377), the "stewards and custodians of the fabric, and the repairs and improvements of the bridge," are stated to have been Roger Cole and Richard Stockebrugge, to whom, "and their successors," a messuage was bequeathed by the will of William Goldsmith, as appears by the inquisition (*ante*, vol. ii. p. 9); but whence these custodians derived their authority has not been ascertained.

The writer in Ree's "Cyclopædia" states, "The time of

* Vol. i. p. 483. † Ledger, p. 2.

erection of this bridge cannot be ascertained; the pointed angular starlings on the upper side are so well constructed as to be able to resist the most violent floods, and the whole appears to be of immense strength."

It is a singular coincidence that the length of old London Bridge and that of Wallingford very nearly corresponded, the one being 900 feet and the other 915, while the number of arches was the same, both bridges having nineteen. In width and outward appearance, however, the two structures differed very much, Wallingford Bridge being not more than one-third as wide as London, or twelve feet within the side walls, thus only allowing room for a single carriage to pass at a time, which, perhaps, was all that was required at the period of its erection, when merchandise, and even the produce of the fields, were mostly carried on pack-horses. In addition to this width, there was a large pointed triangular corner or nook formed by the cutwater, on the upper side between every arch; these triangular projections not only added to the security of the bridge, by diminishing the pressure of the current against the piers, but served as a refuge for passengers. The arches of the bridge were of different dimensions, varying from twelve to eighteen feet in diameter. The widest was called the navigation arch, it being the only one the barges could pass through; but even this was so low, as well as narrow, that the passage through it could not be effected without difficulty, and it has been observed that more barges were sunk at this place than in any other part of the river. Whether the Thames covered the whole space of ground on which the bridge now stands, at the time of its erection, cannot be ascertained, but at present the bed of the river, except in flood-time, is confined to the three new central arches.

It has been suggested that the similarity spoken of between London and Wallingford Bridges could hardly have been accidental, and that the same architect must have designed both bridges. If this be the correct deduction, the date of erection of Wallingford Bridge would be in the time of King John. The architect of London Bridge is said to have been "Peter, Curate of Colechurch, a man chosen for his knowledge of building." This Peter died, leaving the work unfinished, as appears by a letter from King John, in

the third year of his reign, which is among the public records, and the undertaking is supposed to have been finished in 1209, having been committed to the care of three merchants of London, named Mercer, Almaine, and Bolewrite.* Unless, however, the stone building over the gateway at the west end of Wallingford Bridge, called Mary Grace, was originally a chapel or chantry, as its name and a reference to "chapel eyot," a few pages on, would lead us to suppose, the bridge lacked one of the main characteristics of that period, for bridges in the earlier times had always something of a holy character, and stood in near relation to the priesthood.† So it was with old London Bridge, which had its chapel, chantries, and chaplains.

No charter or other document has been found to show when the proprietorship of the bridge first became vested in the mayor and corporation. They had the absolute control over its management and funds in the 22nd year of Henry VII. (1507), as appears by the following entry in the Corporation Ledger. After Mr. Thomas Pollington, then mayor, had appointed six proctors to superintend the repairs "of the great bridge, and of their charyte to bestow soche gyftys as byn givyn to the foreseyde bryge; and it ys agreyed by the foresede master mayer, aldermen, and burgesses, that on or to of the foresede proctors shall come into the Gylde Hall every court day whyle the reparacions be a doyng, and there to receve money of master mayer, or of soche as he wyll asyne to buy soche stuffe as shall be necessary for the bryge, and those that shall receve thys money shall bryng a byll to master mayer every weke, and so give a cowntys how the money ys spent, and the namys of the labourars in the same byll, and what wages they do take."

It would seem, from the archives of the corporation, that the more extensive repairs took place in the next reign. After an entry in 3 Henry VIII., to the effect that credit was given for half a quarter of oats, price 10*d.*, as a receipt from Thomas Moor for "a Brydy's passage over the bridge," several entries appear respecting the repairs.

Among the items of expenditure by the "Proctors of the great Bridge," are:—"For 23 pieces of timber, 13*s.*; 2 loads of

* "History of London," by Northouck.

† Kemble, by Birch, p. 91.

flints, 8*d*." There is no charge for any stone, although it was called "the great stone bridge." Considerable repairs were done in 20 and 21 Henry VIII.; the contributors towards the cost thereof being—

"Mr. Yonge; Sir Simon, Parson of Mongewell; . . . Mayne of Moreton; John Stamp, farmer, of Cholsey; Mr. Barton, of Reading, £5; old Wilmot, of Cholsey; . . . Freeman of Preston Crowmarsh;" who altogether subscribed £8 17*s*. 8*d*.

In the twenty-first year a sum of £30 10*s*. 3*d*. was contributed by various persons, whose names appear in the Ledger. Fourteen subscribers are entered as residents in Moulsford; seven in Streatley; nine in Goring, including my Lady of Goring, her steward Sir Ralff Ray,* some of the chaplains, and Dame Margaret Woddall; in Southstoke there were fourteen subscribers; eleven in Berrick and Fifield, John Paulyng gave half a quarter of malt, and his wife two bushels; eleven subscribers appear in Benstone; seventeen in Dorchester, including my Lord of Dorchester, for one quarter of malt; ten in Warborough; one in Shillingford; seven in Brightwell and Mackney; eleven in Sotwell; four in North Moreton, including Mr. "Archidekon," 3*s*. 9*d*.; two in South Moreton; five in Abingdon, including the abbot and other officers, prior and chanter, eight divers persons, including Mr. Deane of Wallingford for 40*s*.; three in Cholsey, including Mr. Stamp; and one in Mongewell. The corn subscribed sold for £4 5*s*.; and the money received amounted to £30 10*s*. 3*d*. Then follows:—

"Borrowed of Mr. Young for to buy half the Priory Church for to repair, sustain, maintain, and keep the reparation of our bridge, £9"—which sum, however, appears to be included in the above sum of £30 10*s*. 3*d*. The Priory Church was that of the Holy Trinity, attached to the monastery of Black Monks, which was suppressed under the Pope's bull, about the year 1525, as after stated.

Among the items of expense of the bridgemen in the "building" of the bridge, are the following:—

"Mason and others, for stone from Headington and Wheatley: 1 load freestone, 20*d*.; 1 load ragstone, 5*d*.

"Carrying 2 loads of timber out of the Castle to the bridge, and also 6 score loads of stone from the Priory to the bridge.

* Parish priests were often called "sir."

"To Ralph Tyler, for taking down the Priory Church, £3 13*s.* 4*d.*

"Paid Mr. Williams, one of the Fellows of my Lord Cardinal's College, £5."

The total expenditure by bridgemen to date of entry, is £30 8*s.* 6½*d.*

Further contributions were received at the general quarter sessions, and delivered to Walter Barton, of Reading (21 Henry VIII.), including, as contributors, Mr. Englefield, Sir William Essex, Knight, Mr. Stafford Bridges, senr. and junr., Sir William Baringdyne, and Mr. Stonard Dormer; total received being £13 14*s.* 4*d.*

The further expenses are particularized as amounting to £13 19*s.* 7½*d.*

The building called Mary Grace was at the west end of the bridge, and under it was the causeway. In the Corporation Ledger, 23 Henry VIII., are the particulars of the cost "done upon the causey under the Mary of Grace," and subsequently (1533) there is a minute in the same book that Thomas Maynard surrendered his right in the bridge water and eyots, reserving the "little round eyot next the chapel eyot." This entry favours the opinion that the building had been, and was probably at the time, used as a chapel.

The present appearance of some of the old ribbed arches shows that they have undergone but little reparation since their construction; while in several of the other arches, on the Crowmarsh side, may be observed square stones, richly worked with Norman ornamentation, which evidently formed no part of the original structure, leading us to suppose that they must have been brought from the Priory Church, the materials of which were used in repairing the bridge in the reign of Henry VIII.

13th March, 1553, 1 and 2 Mary. At the "law day," Robert Coxson, mayor, and the commonalty of Wallingford granted to Christopher Laurence, by lease for twenty-one years, at 10*s.* annual rent, the fishery of the bridge water, with the eyots belonging to the same, reserving a sufficient way over part of the same water and eyot into the "fowlling" mill there. The lease contains a proviso, that it shall be lawful for the mayor for the time being and his brethren and the burgesses to have the liberty of "fishing of [off] the shelf

next unto the Mary of Grace within the same water, with their angling rods, and not otherwise."

It does not appear that any fixed table of tolls was adopted under legal provision, till the 18th Queen Elizabeth (1576), when the collection of bridge tolls is first noticed. Letters patent, under which these tolls were taken, were granted in the thirteenth year of that reign, and a translation follows, together with an extract from the charter of 36 Charles II., by which they were ratified. Under the provisions in these charters, the corporation continued to exercise their rights as custodians of the bridge and trustees of the property with which it was endowed; but, ample as the provisions were, it may be doubted whether the corporate body kept strictly within their rights, in exacting from the lessees a bottle of wine for each member on the renewal of leases.

In the eighth year of Charles I. (1633), the neglect of persons in the county of Berks to perform the land carriage of ship timber from the forests of Shotover and Stowwood to the water-side at Burcot, was made the subject of complaint to the Lords of the Admiralty, as was also the impediment in the water carriage from Burcot to Deptford and Woolwich. The officers of the navy presented "that the barges must pass through Wallingford Bridge, which no barge above 16 feet 4 inches can do, while other towns on this side that bridge build barges of greater breadth. . . . The charge for 19 locks between Burcot and London being £2 2*s.* 2*d.*, and the rate allowed by his Majesty being 8*s.* 6*d.* per load, the owners affirm that they lose in every freight £5, and sometimes £6, so that on the carriage of 400 loads of timber the grievance is great. It is suggested to allow a competent rate which may encourage these poor men to undertake the water carriage, or that the barges below Wallingford Bridge, which are larger, contribute in a greater proportion." *

During the siege of the Castle by the Parliamentary forces in 1646, some of the arches were removed, and drawbridges erected in their stead, for the better security of the town, thereby cutting off all ready communication with the opposite side of the river, except so far as might suit the purposes of the garrison. At this time, also, the building over the gateway at the west end of the bridge, called Mary Grace, was beat down by the cannon of the besiegers.

* "State Papers," Bruce.

In the reign of Queen Anne, 26th September, 1706, the reversion of the bridge lease and piece of ground was let to William Thompson for thirty-one years, on payment of a fine of £115, and a bottle of wine for every one of the company—a clause being introduced exempting the inhabitants of the borough from toll.

A lease of three acres and a half of land at Benson, dated in 1715, contains a provision that the bridgemen shall repair that part of the bridge, with the doorway leading to Bridge Eyot, by fixing a new door, and making a sufficient ladder or stairs for passing and repassing from the bridge to the eyot.*

An agreement, dated in 1751 (George II.), is set out in the Statute-Book with Joseph Absolon, of Wallingford, "for the doing the four arches in the great bridge." This follows an advertisement "for proposals for casting two arches in the great bridge."

On the 8th of July, 1756, the corporation agreed to take a lease from John Bishop, of the winch, with free use thereof for boatmasters and others, for twenty-one years, at 55*s.* rent, and to buy the pont-boat and chain for £7.

In the year 1809, the corporation applied to Parliament, and obtained an Act for partly rebuilding, widening, and improving the bridge. It recites, "that the bridge is very ancient and greatly damaged, and from the violence of the late floods, various parts of it have been broken down, and other parts so much damaged, that the same is become impassable." The portions of the bridge which were destroyed were the central arches, one of which was called the Queen's Arch. The Act empowered certain trustees to borrow £6000 to put its provisions in force, and it prescribed an increased scale of tolls. The old ruined piers and abutments were removed, and replaced by three handsome arches, forming in length, with the piers, 140 feet, thus uniting the buttresses on the west end with the remains of the old bridge on the east, which was widened seven feet to correspond with the new part. The stone used in the construction of the new work was brought from Headington and Bath quarries, and the total expense—including £1000, the cost of a temporary bridge—did not exceed £7000. The average annual income arising from the tolls collected on passing the bridge amounted

* Statute-Book, p. 253.

to about £500, being an increase of £300 over the sum received before the Act. Pursuant to a clause in the Act, the new tolls and the functions of the trustees were to cease as soon as the money borrowed for the purposes of the Act had been repaid. This happened in the year 1842, since which the structure, with its approaches, toll-house, and estate, have been vested solely in the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the borough, pursuant to a clause in the Act, which also reserves to them all their former rights and privileges. Under this clause, the tolls for passing over and under the bridge, imposed by letters patent of Queen Elizabeth, revived; and the right to recover them was, in 1783, and also in 1842, the subject of litigation, which resulted in favour of the corporation, there being, in fact, no substantial defence against a claim so easily established. The corporation, however, are mere trustees, and possess no beneficial interest in the tolls or in the rent of the bridge estate, of which they have the management. Such tolls and rents can only be legally applied to the proper care and maintenance of the bridge, and as the income exceeds the expenditure, it is incumbent on the trustees to husband their surplus for any extraordinary emergency.

I have been the more desirous to satisfy myself on this point, because a proposition has lately been made to divert the objects of the trust, and apply not only the surplus, but the whole of the bridge property, to the general purposes of the borough. Such a proceeding would be entirely indefensible; and, originating probably under a misconception of facts, has been abandoned.

According to a printed particular, dated in 1868, the following is a summary of the property belonging to the bridge at that date :—

	Per annum.		
	£	*s.*	*d.*
Houses in the borough let on lease, at rents amounting to	115	2	0
Meadow ground on north and south sides of Wallingford Bridge ...	2	10	0
Strip of ground called Port Royal ...	1	1	0
House property in borough not in lease	63	0	0
Land in Church Field, Benson, 4a. 1r. 7p.	10	0	0
Yearly rents issuing out of houses in Lower Green	0	10	0
Tolls payable at Wallingford Bridge (net average)	16	0	0

A sale of several of the houses has since taken place, and the particulars are set out, *ante*, p. 226. In addition to the proceeds of the sale, there is a sum of £812 16*s.* 6*d.* in the Reduced Three per Cent. Annuities belonging to this estate.

TRANSLATION OF LETTERS PATENT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

"Elizabeth, by the grace of God, etc.;—Whereas, the Mayor, burgesses, and commonalty of the borough of Wallingford have humbly besought us that, whereas the great bridge of the same borough, containing in length 900 feet, and erected upon twenty stone arches over the river Thames, being at present in such ruin and decay that the inhabitants of the same borough (by means of their great poverty) cannot support and repair the same bridge; we, for the better support and maintenance of the said bridge, are willing graciously and liberally to exhibit and extend our princely bounty and favour in this behalf. We, therefore, considering the premises, of our special favour, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given and granted, and, for us, our heirs, and successors, by these presents, do give and grant unto the aforesaid mayor or burgesses and commonalty and their successors, special authority and power that they and their successors may have and receive from time to time for ever,—For every waggon or cart laden with wood or timber, for every time it goes over the said bridge, one penny; and for every waggon or cart laden with grain of what kind soever, twopence; and for every waggon or cart half laden with any sort of grain whatsoever, one penny; and for every waggon or cart laden with any other carriage whatsoever, one penny; and for every waggon or cart laden with wool, fourpence; and for every waggon or cart half laden with wool, twopence; and for every barge or lighter passing under the said bridge aforesaid, as often as it shall go to or from the said bridge, sixpence; and for every quarter of grain, and for every burden carried out by a horse or horses, one farthing of good and lawful money of England; and that it shall and may be lawful for the aforesaid mayor, burgesses, and commonalty, and their successors, to levy and take the toll aforesaid by their servants without any let or hindrance of us, our heirs, or successors, or of any

* Patent Roll, 13 Elizabeth, p. 4, m. 28.

justices, escheators, sheriffs, bailiffs, or other officers or ministers of us or of our said heirs or successors whatsoever. And we are willing, and for us, our heirs and successors, by these presents, do order that all issues and profits of all the aforesaid tolls, hereafter to be levied and gathered, may be converted to the reparation, supporting, and maintaining of the bridge aforesaid from time to time for ever, and not otherwise, nor to any other use or intention. So that a true account of the yearly value and certainty of the premises, or any of them, or of any other gifts or grants by us or by any of our progenitors to the aforesaid mayor, burgesses, and commonalty, or any of them, before this time, be made. These presents notwithstanding, or any Statute, Act, ordinance, promise, or restriction to the contrary thereof, before this time made, set forth, ordained, or promised, or any other thing, cause, or matter, whatsoever in any wise notwithstanding.

"In witness, etc., myself at Westminster, 25th May, the thirteenth year of our reign. By writ of privy seal of the date aforesaid.

"BUGGYN."

EXTRACT FROM THE CHARTER OF 36 CHARLES II.

"And further, etc., we do grant unto the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, and their successors, the several tolls for carts and carriages passing over the bridge of Wallingford, towards the repairs thereof, according to a charter in that behalf granted by the late Queen Elizabeth, etc., and also the customs and other liberties, powers, privileges, franchises, immunities, exemptions, tolls, freedoms, duties, fines, forfeitures, goods, chattels, lands, tenements, hereditaments, powers, advantages, profits, and jurisdictions, to them or their predecessors heretofore granted, etc., and also all and singular customs and other liberties, powers, privileges, franchises, immunities, freedoms, exemptions, tolls, profits, lands, etc., which the said burgesses or inhabitants of the borough, etc., have had, holden, or enjoyed, by reason of any charters, grants, or letters patent, by us or Philip and Mary, late king and queen, or by or from any other of our noble predecessors or progenitors, etc.

"*Table of Tolls collected.*

	s.	*d.*
For every waggon loaded with cheese, wool, or household goods	0	4
For every cart loaded with the same ...	0	2
For every waggon loaded with corn, wood, rags, coals, stones, or other commodities not above mentioned	0	2
For every cart loaded with the same ...	0	1
For every drove of sheep the property of one person	0	4
For every loaded horse	0	0½
For every cow	0	0½
For every drove of pigs consisting of three or more	0	4
For every pig less than a drove	0	0½
For every barge passing under the bridge...	1	6
For every small ditto	1	0

"*Exemptions.*

"All loaded waggons and carts, cattle, sheep, and pigs, when the loads, cattle, sheep, or pigs are deposited and left within the borough.

"Inhabitants of the borough in respect of all tolls, except for barges passing under the bridge, and except for loaded waggons or carts, cattle, sheep, or pigs, taken, driven, or passed through the borough.

"All waggons and carts loaded with materials for repairing turnpike roads."

Man refers to some inscriptions on the wall of the eleventh arch from the east end, which are not now to be found. On a tablet, he states, is the following inscription:—"The four wooden arches in this bridge were taken up and cast with brick and stone in 1751." The wooden arches were probably erected after the siege of the town in 1646, in lieu of the drawbridges before mentioned.

On a white marble tablet placed against the wall is the following memorial:—"Murus hic ex voto Gyldæ de Wallingford denuo extructus erat, Cudworth Bruce, Majore.

Carolus Lever, Thomas Driver, pontis hujus conservatores. 1671."

On another tablet placed against the parapet wall is a third memorial:—"The bridge was widened in this part in 1770. Richard Toovey, mayor; William Toovey and William Mayne, bridgemen."

Population, Public Buildings, etc.

It does not appear that the town had recovered, at the commencement of the reign of George I., from the decay into which it had fallen in the time of Edward III., when a dreadful pestilence carried off great numbers of its inhabitants. The building of Culham and Dorchester Bridges,* in 1415, contributed also to its decay, by diverting the great road to Gloucestershire and South Wales, from its former course through Wallingford. Thus we find that the population and number of houses remained nearly stationary for several centuries, up to the end of the eighteenth century, since which time there has been a gradual though steady increase, as appears by the following figures:—

Census.	Number of Inhabitants.	Number of Houses.
1801	1744	371
1811	1901	380
1861	2793	585
1871	3051	592

Malting was the principal trade in the town, and was carried on to a great extent. Wallingford, being the centre of a rich barley-growing country, had always an abundant supply of the grain suitable for malting at the numerous malthouses that were formerly in work, while the trade was encouraged by the ready means of transit to London and other important places which the river Thames afforded. Of late years the trade has much declined, several of the malthouses have been pulled down, and barley grown in the neighbourhood, which is of a superior quality, is sent away in large quantities to undergo the steeping and drying process at distant kilns.

* Camden mentions Burford.

The Town Hall.

The Guild or Town Hall stands on the south side of the market-place. The date of the erection of the original building is unknown, but we read of the Burghmote presided over by the mayor and bailiffs in A.D. 1232 (Henry III.), and the business was no doubt transacted in the hall of the burgh. The Guildhall, with selds under it, is first mentioned in the reign of Edward II., and occurs constantly as the place wherein the Burghmotes were held. The present structure was built in 1670, slated and repaired in 1822, and does not appear to have occupied the site of the old Guildhall. It is a plain building, on stone pillars, without any exterior ornament, except a balcony on the north front which communicates with the interior by a large venetian window. From this balcony, which needs sundry supports to make it secure, the result of the Parliamentary elections is, by custom, proclaimed to the assembled multitude below. The hall and council chamber occupy the first floor. In the former the quarter sessions and borough courts were held; in the latter, the municipal business is transacted, and in it the magistrates for the county hold their petty sessions for the Moreton hundred. The Minute-Book of the corporation contains the following entry, under date 4th February, 1846:—"Resolved that the thanks of the council be conveyed to the town clerk, John Allnatt Hedges, Esq., for his kindness in greatly improving the council chamber, at his own expense, by costly alterations and additions, which greatly add to the comfort and convenience of the room." On the walls are hung portraits of Archbishop Laud (a benefactor to the town); Jacob Earl of Radnor, high steward, by Sir Thomas Lawrence; Sir Francis Sykes, Baronet, high steward, and for several years representative of the borough in Parliament; Richard Benyon de Beauvoir, Esq., member for the borough for five years from 1807, and high steward from 1828 to 1844; William Seymour Blackstone, Esq., member for the borough from 1832 to 1852; Charles Atherton Allnatt, Esq., taken at the desire and expense of the members of the corporation, on the fiftieth anniversary of his election into that body; John Allnatt Hedges, Esq., painted at the like request and expense; and Widdows Golding, Esq. On the upper floor is a large

room, which in former times was used as a kitchen, and, with its capacious fireplace, was brought into requisition at the mayor's annual feast. These feasts were conducted in olden times with great liberality, and at considerable cost, so much so that in 1797 the corporation recommended their partial discontinuance.

25th February, 1797. "The expenses attending the feast given by the mayor on his quitting his office, being, in the opinion of this meeting, an unnecessary burthen on him, and highly improper on account of the high price of provisions and the extensive scale upon which the feast is conducted, and being likewise injurious to the interest of the corporation, it is earnestly recommended that, in future, the mayor for the time being will confine his invitations to the members for the borough, the high steward, the clergyman who preaches the sermon, and the corporation, and that the present mayor, Edward Wells, Esquire, will have the goodness to set the example."

Notwithstanding this recommendation, the extensive character of the feast continued in a greater or less degree, till the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act, when the mayor's hospitality was transferred to his private residence, and confined to the members of the corporation and a few others. During late years this annual gathering has been discontinued, and some of the poor and aged male inhabitants are now the recipients of the chief magistrate's bounty.

The corn market was held in the open space between the pillars, first as a sample, and in 1817 as a pitched market, till the corn exchange was erected in 1856 by a joint stock company. This is a large and handsome building on the east side of the market-place, the light being admitted from the roof, which is partly of glass. Behind the open space under the town hall, were two small prisons, separated from each other, the one called the corporation and the other the town prison. In February, 1829, the former was described as "the bailiffs' ward for imprisonment of debtors who are proceeded against in the Borough Court of Record of Pleas," and became disused on the abolition of imprisonment for debt; the other was discontinued as a prison on the building of the new police station by the county, in Fish Street. Both rooms are now utilized for town purposes, the fire-engine and its

appliances being kept in one, and the arms of the volunteer corps in the other, while a large room partly underground, which appears to have been used in former times as a prison also, is made available for stowing the shambles, benches, forms, etc., which are brought into request on market days.

Near the boundary of the borough, in St. Mary's parish, stood the workhouse, which was erected at the joint expense of the parishes of St. Mary, St. Leonard, and St. Peter, for the reception of their several poor, and cost those parishes about 11*s.* in the £ on the rent of the houses. The parish of Allhallows did not join in the union, but maintained the few poor persons chargeable to the rates at its own cost. Great abuses and no inconsiderable expense arose from the old parochial system of management, which continued till the passing of the Poor Law Act, under which Wallingford was made the centre of a large district in Berkshire and Oxfordshire, comprising twenty-five parishes besides the four in the town, having an area of 40,927 acres, and a population, in 1871, of 14,648. The old workhouse was retained, and now forms a wing to the extended buildings. The number of poor persons relieved has greatly diminished during recent years, whilst the number of vagrants has increased to such an extent, not only in this, but in other unions in the county, that the justices of the General Quarter Sessions held in 1877, appointed a committee of magistrates to investigate the subject, at the instance of Sir C. S. Paul Hunter, Bart., under whose auspices, as chairman, a system has been introduced whereby passes and tickets for bread are given by the police to all applicants, with a result that at first proved highly successful; but time will be required to test its ultimate effect. The Wallingford union, next to that of Windsor, relieved, in the year ending Lady Day, 1878, the largest number of tramps in the county. A return for that year gives the total of admissions into the workhouse for one night each, as no less than 3764 persons, being more than 1400 in excess of the number of settled poor of the union, who received relief in and out of the house during that year. The state of vagrancy in this district is by no means exceptional; the whole county has for a long period been overrun by this class of persons, nearly all of whom are professional tramps, and obtain a living by theft, supple-

mented by the misdirected charity of the public; and herein lies the great encouragement of the very evil which the Legislature has endeavoured from time to time to suppress. Under the Statute of Labourers in the fourteenth century, it was on the giver, and not on the receiver, that punishment fell, and it may be thought that the principle of the Statute, as regards indiscriminate almsgiving, was sound, the difficulty being to distinguish the good from the bad. In Part II. we have referred to the Acts of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., which imposed severe punishment on vagrants and beggars. No mitigation of the severity of the penalty attaching to the offence appears to have taken place in the earlier part of Queen Elizabeth's reign; for in the "Calendar of State Papers," particularly in the year 1571, we find returns to the Council from the sheriffs and justices of counties, certifying their proceedings in keeping watch and ward for the apprehending of this class of offenders. Under date 30th July, appears a certificate of rogues and vagabonds "apprehended, whipped, and punished," in the hundred of Wallingford; and in the next month is recorded a certificate from the High Constable of Ewelme to Sir Edmund Ashfield and others, justices of Oxfordshire, that he had made careful search for rogues and vagabonds in the half-hundred of Ewelme; and in similar certificates addressed to the sheriff, returns were made from several other hundreds in Oxfordshire, and among them Dorchester, Pyrton, Thame, and Lewknor; that for Dorchester ending thus, "Where all things be well, thanks be to God." In the middle period of Elizabeth's reign, houses of correction were ordered to be established for the punishment and amendment of the vagabond class, by means of compulsory labour, while each town and parish was made responsible for the relief of its indigent and disabled poor, as distinguished from mendicants. Varied were the forms of punishment adopted from time to time to repress mendicancy; but the practice of begging continued. Neither the milder provisions of the Act of Elizabeth, nor the branding, whipping, nor even hanging, which was awarded by one Statute, had much effect, and by the Act of 5 George IV. all these penal enactments were repealed, and vagrants and mendicants (then a very different class from the expelled monks and others of earlier

times) were made liable, as "idle and disorderly persons," as "rogues and vagabonds," or "incorrigible rogues," to terms of imprisonment, with hard labour, from one month to twelve months. Still vagrancy prevails, in spite of all these repressive enactments.

It may interest, and possibly be useful, to give here an explanation of the rude hieroglyphics which many of us may have observed on or near our entrance gates or doors. It is taken from Captain Amyatt Amyatt's instructive pamphlet on the "Repression of Vagrancy." After a cadger's map of a begging district, occurs the following :—

"× No good; too poor, and know too much.

"⌐ Stop. If you have what they want, they will buy. They are pretty 'fly' (knowing).

"⊃ Go in this direction; it is better than the other road. Nothing that way.

"◇ Bone (good). Safe for a 'cold 'tatur,' if for nothing else. 'Cheese your patter' (don't talk much) here.

"▽ Cooper'd (spoilt) by too many tramps calling there.

"⊡ Gammy (unfavourable); likely to have you taken up. Mind the dog.

"⊙ Flummuxed (dangerous); sure of a month in 'quod.'

"⊕ Religious, but tidy on the whole."

In 1795, an Act of Parliament was obtained for the better paving and lighting the town, under the provisions of which great improvements in the streets took place; houses and shops were enlarged, and the trade of the town was increased, not only by its altered and improved condition, but by the facility which the union of the river Severn with the Thames, and the opening of the Oxford canal, afforded for the supply of coals, salt, and other articles of necessary consumption direct from the pits or manufactories. This facility has now been greatly increased by railway communication. Small as the town is, it may be fairly said that there is no place of its size, in this and the neighbouring counties, which can boast of such handsome shops and places of business as those in the market-place and principal streets of the borough, while the inhabitants have the advantages of a Free Library and Literary Institute, for which a commodious building was erected in 1871, on the north side of St. Leonard's Square, and which is so contrived, as to be available by the removal of

a screen, for concerts and other entertainments. Adjoining the Institute is a Wesleyan Chapel, lately built, with three hundred sittings, and in the town are several other chapels belonging to the Independent, the Baptist, and other nonconforming bodies.

There is a paved ring round the obelisk in the market-place, formed of light-coloured stones, called the Bull Ring, of or concerning which I can find no record. Bull-baiting was an ancient amusement, dating back at least to the time of King John, and continued probably up to the present century, when the cruel sport was prohibited by Act of Parliament.

Charities.

Sir Thomas Bennett's Charity. This benefactor to the town is mentioned, *post*, p. 326. His charitable grant was founded in 1616, and consisted of an annual sum of £20, payable out of an estate at Kirton, in Lincolnshire, which was vested in the Mercers' Company, London, upon trust, to pay certain specific annual sums, including the above, charged thereon. The yearly rent of the estate was, at the time of the grant, £150, which was exhausted within 9*s.* by the several annuities. The objects of the bounty were, "fifteen of the more poor and aged sort of men and women of the borough of Wallingford, as most need shall appear," who were to receive "26*s.* 8*d.* yearly, or 13*s.* 4*d.* half-yearly, so long as he or she shall live, and be of good and honest behaviour, and serving God in the churches there weekly, every sabbath day, at the least." In the course of time the estate at Kirton greatly increased in value, and the rents were so augmented, that in the ten years ending October, 1823, the surplus income over the fixed charges amounted to the sum of £2744. This state of things led to costly litigation, and an appeal to the House of Lords, the company contending that the estate was given to them absolutely, subject only to the specified amounts out of the rents. The decree of the Lords was adverse to this contention, and upheld the judgment of the Court of Exchequer, which was given on the 30th May, 1826, to the effect that the whole usufruct of the estate was intended by the donor to be dedicated to the charitable purposes mentioned in the deed. By this decision the Charity Trustees of the borough

became entitled to three-eighteenths of the net proceeds of the Kirton estate, which, with the dividends arising from two sums of Consolidated Stock, amounting to £431 11*s.* 9*d.*, and £650, now standing in the names of the official trustees of charities, enables them to pay to the fifteen poor persons a sum of £12 a year each, instead of the 26*s.* 8*d.* mentioned in the grant. The three-eighteenths of the net proceeds of the charity estate amounted to £141 1*s.* 1*d.*, for the year ending December, 1879.

Major Biggs's Charity. Up to about the year 1835, this charity consisted of a net annual sum of £20, which was regularly paid by the Merchant Taylors' Company, London, to the corporation of Wallingford, and was by them distributed, one moiety among ten poor persons of the borough, receiving parochial relief, for life, the election being in the mayor and aldermen of the borough, and the minister of the parish church of St. Mary; and the other moiety towards erecting a free grammar school, and for the mastership thereof, for instructing six boys, sons of parents residing in the town. To secure the above and other payments, the donor, Walter Bigg,* conveyed to the Merchant Taylors' Company a messuage and premises in the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, in the county of Middlesex, which now comprise the extensive range of buildings on the south side of Soho Square, occupied by Messrs. Crosse and Blackwell. The rent originally was £53 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, but on the renewal of the lease some years ago, a largely increased rental was secured; and by a decretal order of the Master of the Rolls, dated 29th July, 1835, it was referred to the Master to ascertain what proportionate additions ought to be made to the several payments directed by a certain indenture of assignment of the 6th June, 1659, which is set out in the pleadings. The report of the Master, confirmed by the Court, greatly improved the condition of the charity, and endowed it with two equal third parts of the net annual income of the

* A tradesman's token has lately been found at Wallingford, from which we may conclude that this benefactor to the town was an innkeeper in St. Giles-in-the-Fields. The inscription is—

O.—Walt Bigg . at . the Bel = a Bell
R.—Gyleses . in . the Feildes = a Bell } a farthing.

This token is referred to in Boyne's "Tokens."

property above mentioned. No nominations were made to the school for many years, and this part of the income was allowed to accumulate, till at length a sufficient sum was raised to enable the trustees, with the aid of private subscriptions, to build the handsome schools on the west of the town, called the Grammar Schools. The cost amounted to about £3000, and the buildings are so constructed as to be easily capable of enlargement. A scheme, under the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, was adopted in April, 1873, the primary object being to supply "a sound and practical education for boys and girls." It provides for the constitution of the governing body, the appointment of head master and head mistress, and for the jurisdiction of the governors over scholastic arrangements, and contains various details relating to the admission of scholars, the subjects of secular instruction to be taught, and the general management of the schools. Printed copies of the scheme are readily obtainable in the town.

The schools were opened, with some ceremonial, on the 10th of September, 1877, by Edward Wells, Esq., M.P. for the borough.

To meet the benefaction to the ten poor persons, the scheme further provides for the payment, by the governors to the Trustees of the Municipal Charities, of the annual sum of £26, which yields 24*s.* every half-year to the recipients.

Archbishop Laud's Charity. The county of Berks participated largely in the benefactions of the archbishop. Born at Reading, in 1573, where his parents carried on the business of a clothier, he was especially munificent to that town. His will is dated 13th January, 1643–4, when he was a prisoner in the Tower of London, and was written by his own hand. It betrays a fear that the distractions of the times in which he lived might occasion delay in its administration, if not a "plundering" of his estate. Within a year after its date, the charge of treason which was preferred against him having been abandoned, an ordinance of attainder was hurried through both Houses of Parliament, and on the 10th of January, 1644–5, the archbishop suffered death on the scaffold on Tower Hill. In the will, after certain bequests to Oxford, "where he was bred," and to Reading, "where he was born," and to the poor of nineteen places with which

he appears to have been connected, and after various pecuniary and specific legacies, he directs the residue of his estate to be laid out in land, and £50 per annum to be settled upon the town of Wokingham, and the like sums respectively upon the towns of Henley-on-Thames, Wallingford, and New Windsor, upon certain trusts for apprenticing poor boys, and giving marriage portions to poor maids. The will remained unproved until after the Restoration, probate having been granted on the 8th of January, 1661–2; proceedings in the Court of Chancery arose, and ultimately various fee farm rents in Berkshire and Oxfordshire, amounting to £201 0*s.* 1*d.*, were conveyed to trustees, upon trust, to pay the four several sums of £50 each. Subsequently, by agreement, these rents were apportioned, those allotted to Wallingford being derived out of the manors of Hagbourne and Aston Upthorpe. It is satisfactory to find that the benefaction to the town has not sustained any diminution, the gross receipts for the year 1879, including the dividend on a sum of £50 Consols, amounting to £51 9*s.* 3*d.*

On the 12th of March, 1706, a deed was executed, under which the objects of the charity and application of the income are set out as follows. At a meeting to be held annually on the 7th of October, the income is to be applied towards apprenticing five boys each year, for two years consecutively, and each third year towards the marriage portions of three poor maids. The boys are to be fourteen years of age at least, of the Church of England, born in the town, of honest poor people of Wallingford, special regard being given to the fatherless, and no boy to be elected unless his father had been a dweller, housekeeper, and parishioner, and of honest reputation of the town for fourteen years before such election, and be of the Church of England. If no master be found in Wallingford, power is given to apprentice in any other town in Berkshire, or in London.

The maids are to be eighteen years old at the least, born in Wallingford, of parents of the town, true and faithful members of the Church of England, and who had served abroad, and not at home with their own parents, one master, mistress, or dame, for three years together at least. The elections are directed to be made in church.

The Almshouse Charity. William Angier and Mary his

sister, mentioned in p. 179, were the founders of this charity in the year 1681. The income amounts to about £73 a year, and arises from meadow-land at Chalgrove, called Stratford Meadow, let at £36 per annum; meadow-land, eyotts, and fishery, at Northstoke, Oxon, and Cholsey, Berks, let at £28 per annum, and the dividends from £311 3*s.* 2*d.* standing in the names of the Official Trustees of Charity Funds. The almshouse furnishes comfortable apartments, with a garden, for six inmates, who must be poor widows or widowers within the borough, and a weekly allowance of 4*s.* 6*d.* is made to each inmate.

Fludger's Charity. The benefactor of this charity was Henry Fludger, Esq., an inhabitant of the town, and member of the corporation. By his will, dated 1st December, 1808, and proved 6th October, 1817, he gave £1000 Consols upon trust, to pay the dividends to the aldermen of the borough, to be by them distributed annually among thirty poor men and women, inhabitants of the borough, and not less than sixty years of age; to be nominated and elected by the said aldermen, or the major part of them. This bequest now consists of £900 Consols, standing in the names of the Official Trustees.

Golding's Charity. Widdows Golding was a native of Wallingford, and died in 1820. By his will, dated 5th August, 1818, wherein he is described as a surgeon and apothecary at Reading, he gave to the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough, after the determination of several life interests, certain trust moneys, which are now represented by £550 Consols and £1050 New Three per Cent. Annuities standing in the names of the Official Trustees. He directed the dividends to be applied for the benefit of such paupers residing within the borough, as to the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses should appear most deserving; and to be divided yearly into three equal parts, so that in each alternate year one of such third parts should be laid out in the purchase of dark blue men's great coats; one other third part in the purchase of dark blue women's stuff gowns; and the remaining third in the purchase of flannel for women; and that in such intermediate or alternate year, two of such third parts be expended in the purchase of substantial blankets, two yards wide and two and a half yards long, and the remaining third in the

purchase of shoes and stockings. Directions are given as to the day and place of distribution, and for reading the applicable part of his will. The relief is to be equally open to all persons professing the Christian religion, without distinction or preference, but no individual, nor any one family, is to be entitled to claim a donation oftener than once in three years. The will also contains a direction to keep in repair, out of the fund, two monumental tablets in St. Peter's Church.

Morrell's Charity. The late Charles Morrell, Esq., of Sloane Street, Middlesex, and Bridge House, Wallingford, was another benefactor to the town, and by his will, dated the 25th of October, 1855, he gave two sums of Bank Stock, after the deaths of certain legatees for life, to the corporation, upon trust, every year to divide the annual income equally between "such ten poor persons residing in the town of Wallingford, as the said corporation shall consider most worthy of relief." At the present time, the realized trust moneys consist of £2275 10*s.* Consols in the names of the mayor and corporation, and a further sum of stock will become transferable for the like charitable purpose at a future time.

Cottage Hospital. This charitable institution owes its origin to the late estimable lady, Miss Mary Morrell, of White Cross, who for about two years acted as lady superintendent at the temporary building in the Reading Road, and took so much interest in the permanent building, which, through the liberality of her relatives, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Morrell, of Headington Hill House, is now in course of erection near the almshouse. A sudden and serious illness, aggravated, possibly, by a too close application to her self-imposed duties at the temporary hospital, terminated fatally in the month of June, 1880, and removed from the sphere of her usefulness one whose whole life was devoted to acts of charity and benevolence.

The new hospital is designed for the reception of seven patients, and the cost of it to the extent of £1000 has been generously defrayed by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Morrell. It is built on land given by Henry Hawkins, Esq. the mayor of the town, subject to certain conditions, the terms of which, I understand, are not yet (1880) settled. The annual expense is met by voluntary contributions.

The National Schools were erected in 1861, at a cost of

about £1400, raised by subscription, and they have been subsequently enlarged. They are supported by voluntary contributions, supplemented by an annual grant from Government, which varies according to the standard of efficiency attained by the pupils, of whom there were in 1879 an average of 112 boys, 98 girls, and 93 infants, making an average attendance of 303, out of a total on the books of 415.

END OF PART I.

PART II.

Stanley Leighton, del. Littleton Wilday, lith., 9, Castle St. Holborn, London, E.C.

TOWER OF ST MARY'S CHURCH, WALLINGFORD.

CHAPTER VIII.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

Part II. embraces an account of the churches and monastic institutions of the town, with full particulars respecting the parish church of All Saints, showing how the parish was wrongfully deprived of its tithes and all spiritual ministrations for a period of more than two hundred and fifty years; and showing also the legal liability that attaches to the lay holder of vicarial tithes.

This Part, now slightly altered, was intended for publication in 1876.

Recent researches in the endeavour to trace the early history and devolution of the tithes of the parish of All Saints, now called Allhallows, Wallingford, including the liberty of Clapcote, in the county of Berks, have disclosed a good deal of local historical information that may not be uninteresting to those who have so kindly aided, by their subscriptions, in providing for the parish spiritual assistance, which has for so long a period been wanting. In this hope I may perhaps be allowed to ask the subscribers to accept the following sketch, as a little token of acknowledgment of their willing response to the appeal which, as a member of the committee, I ventured to make. I feel, too, that some explanation is necessary to account for the long delay that has arisen in carrying out the object of the subscribers, and to show that that delay, approaching eighteen months, has been occasioned by circumstances over which the committee have had no control.

On the retirement of the late Rector of St. Mary's (the Rev. John Langley), in the year 1872, after a pastoral care of forty years, the rectories of that parish and of St.

Leonard's adjoining, which had been held together for a long series of years, were separated, and the revenue of the former, with a population of about 1300, was consequently reduced to about £60 a year after payment of an annuity of £30 to the retiring incumbent. The adjoining parish of Allhallows, with a population of about 200 and an area of 821 acres, was also a rectory; but its tithes were confiscated in the sixteenth century, and its parish church was destroyed during the civil wars in the next century, and for as long as can be remembered, the parishioners have been dependent upon the voluntary and gratuitous services of the Rector of St. Mary's for all spiritual help—even for the burial of the dead; but the kindly offices and ever ready assistance from time to time rendered by the rector have, fortunately, prevented any open scandal. In the early part of 1873, an effort was made on behalf of both parishes (renewed on the part of Allhallows), to put an end to this anomalous and reproachful state of things. A committee, consisting of the two churchwardens, Messrs. Edward Wells, M.P., Robert Payne and Thos. Arthur Champion, the then mayor of the town, with myself, was appointed to solicit subscriptions for the purpose of providing a rectory house for St. Mary's, increasing the very inadequate endowment, and supplying spiritual ministrations to the parish of Allhallows —a movement which met with the cordial advocacy of the bishop of the diocese. A memorial, signed by one hundred and forty-two landowners and residents in that parish, was presented to the Reverend the Master and Fellows of Pembroke College, Oxford, the impropriators of the great and small tithes and glebe land of the parish, yielding about £375 per annum, respectfully setting out the grievance under which the parish had so long laboured, the unreasonableness of expecting a continuance of gratuitous services under the altered circumstances of the case, and praying for an appropriation of a portion of the tithes, to relieve the parish from its position of dependence upon voluntary effort, and to secure a resident clergyman for the two parishes. To this appeal the master, in a letter dated 11th November, 1873, expressed the general sympathy of the college with the feelings expressed in the memorial, and its approval of, and desire to promote, the object sought to be attained; and

although "repudiating the idea that the college was in any way responsible for the then existing state of things, or bound exclusively or specially to remedy the evil," expressed the consent of the college to make a net annual payment not exceeding £25, on condition that the other owners and residents made up an equal sum. A subscription was at once opened, and a sum collected more than sufficient to meet the condition. A representation of the case was made to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England, who offered supplemental aid to the extent of £600 in a capital sum, and a perpetual annuity of £30, conditional on the sum of £900 being paid to their account before the 1st of May then next, and the rent charge offered by the Master and Fellows of Pembroke College being legally secured by that date, the committee were ready to pay the £900 on the day named; but the college authorities were not prepared to accede to the condition on which the grant of the Commissioners depended. As appeared from subsequent correspondence, they were unwilling to make a permanent grant, and desired to reserve to themselves the right of revocation at any time—a form of aid which would not secure the promised augmentation from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Hence arose a long correspondence, and the consequent delay, which has occasioned a serious loss of income to the incumbent. The question that naturally suggested itself was—Is the college under a legal obligation to make provision for spiritual ministrations in the parish? A moral obligation was admitted, but beyond this a wide difference of opinion prevailed, which led to the researches to which I have referred. It was in no spirit of hostility that I undertook the investigation, which has afforded me pleasurable occupation for many a leisure hour. My endeavour was to trace the devolution of the tithes as a matter of interest, to show that an act of spoliation had at some time or other been committed, and, if possible, that a legal liability attached to the college. I was sure I should meet with no unfriendly opposition, for the Master, the Rev. Evan Evans, D.D., whose uniform courtesy and kindness I beg respectfully to acknowledge, had expressed not only his sympathy, but his regret at being so fettered as to be unable to effect an alienation of any portion of the corpus of the college property.

All the documents and information I had obtained were unreservedly placed before the authorities of the college, and, in my humble opinion, made out a strong case in favour of the parish. The college solicitors were instructed to obtain the opinions of "two most eminent counsel;" and I am sorry I cannot append to this sketch the united opinion of these gentlemen. It doubtless contains reliable information and sound advice on a question of some obscurity, and would have proved generally interesting and possibly useful. But this important and valuable document lies undisturbed among the archives of the college, and we can only look to the sequel for some echo of its contents. However, whether the opinion of "the two most eminent counsel" be or be not in the direction indicated, it is satisfactory to be able to report that this long-pending matter, which has given rise to unpleasant controversy for at least twenty-five years, has been at length arranged. Tithe-rent charges of the gross value of £30 5*s.* 6*d.* per annum have been secured by deed of grant from the Master and Fellows of Pembroke. The parishes of St. Mary-the-More and Allhallows have been united for ecclesiastical purposes in due form of law—a measure which, we were told, was necessary for the protection of the college. The perpetual annuity of £30 from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, with an addition of £5 a year to meet a further benefaction of £150, has been granted, and the sum of £600 offered by them, together with the sum of £1050, being the net produce of the subscriptions, have been invested in Government securities; and thus the stipend of the rector of the united parishes has been substantially, though far from adequately, increased, the present income, without residence, barely amounting to £230 per annum.

All Saints, Wallingford.

It may not be unserviceable, before we proceed to consider the history of the parish church of All Saints, to refer briefly to a few facts relative to the introduction of parish churches into this country, and to the imposition of tithes. This insight into the past will be the more interesting because there is good reason to infer that the founder of the church was the Saxon thane, Wigod of Wallingford, or one of his immediate descendants; and there can be little doubt that

another of the churches of the town, that of St. Leonard, was of Saxon origin.

The concurrent voice of authority assigns A.D. 60 as about the period when the Christian religion was first introduced into Britain. This was the time of Boadicea's revolt, when the Britons were suffering from the greatest temporal calamities—a circumstance which may have favoured the planting of Christianity among them, but the progress it made was slow and almost imperceptible. At first, the Christians resorted to the houses of private individuals in order to celebrate divine worship, and afterwards—about the year 230—in the reign of Alexander Severus, churches of lowly form, the fabric being of wood and the roof of straw, were erected in those parts of Britain where Christianity had struck its root. Some time afterwards—the year 303 is said to be the date—a general persecution of the Christians commenced. An edict was promulgated whereby it was enacted that the Christian churches should everywhere be destroyed, and that persons holding secret religious assemblies should be punished with death. A series of edicts followed which aimed at the very existence of the Christian name, and great numbers of Christians both in Britain and Gaul were deprived of their freedom, subjected to various kinds of suffering, and many of them put to death, in consequence of their religion. Under the rule of Constantius, and his son Constantine the Great, a revival of Christianity took place, persecution was extinguished, and, according to Bede,* churches were everywhere rebuilt, and the offices of religion openly resumed. But a bitter struggle again ensued; idolatry of the most absurd and cruel description superseded Christianity throughout the greater part of Britain, and it was not till the year 596, when St. Augustine commenced his pious work at the instance of Pope Gregory the Great, that the prejudices of the idolatrous Saxons began to wear away. The unremitting teaching of this zealous ecclesiastic and his followers wrought a change in the religion of the Anglo-Saxons, the reception of Christianity again became general, and one of the first to profess himself a Christian was King Ethelbert. Lingard† remarks, "At Christmas, ten thousand Saxons followed their prince to

* "Hist. Eccles.," Bk. I. ch. viii.

† "Anglo-Saxon Church," vol. i. p. 30.

the waters of baptism. The temples of Woden were converted into Christian churches."

At the commencement of the sixth century, says Kemble, in his "Anglo-Saxons," "Christianity met with but little resistance, and enjoyed an easy triumph;" and Lingard tells us, that within the space of about eighty years was successfully completed the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. It seems, at first, that a system of itinerant preaching prevailed to a considerable extent; but this mission system, owing to the inconvenience it occasioned, soon gave place to the establishment of centres of instruction, where a presbyter resided, who took charge of the district, under the general direction of the bishop, while the Episcopal churches were served by a body of clerks and monks.

We first hear of *parish* churches in the seventh century, in connection with the Greek monk Theodore of Tarsus, who was styled Archbishop of Britain.* His principal work, however, in this direction, appears to have been to reduce the Saxon dioceses, which were of enormous extent, into smaller districts, for ecclesiastical purposes. Birinus soon afterwards (A.D. 634) appeared in the south, and, as Bishop of Dorchester, announced the tidings of salvation to the warlike inhabitants of Wessex. His zeal in founding and consecrating churches in his diocese is especially praised by Bede, bk. iii. c. 7; and numbers were also erected by the liberality of kings and other bishops, whose example was followed by the principal thanes. They raised churches on their own manorial estates, for the use of themselves, their dependents, and friends. "Each year added to the number of these sacred edifices, and worldly as well as religious motives concurred in their erection, till at last the existence of a church on the lands of a proprietor became a necessary qualification for elevation to the rank of a thane." †

The means provided for the support of the clergy appear to have been ample. At a very early period, the voluntary oblations of the faithful were devoted to their maintenance, as well as for acts of charity, and with so much liberality were these free-will offerings made, that we hear of no payment of tithe, as such, till the beginning of the seventh

* Lingard.

† Thorpe's "Ancient Laws and Institutions," vol. i. p. 190.

century. But, as time rolled on, the piety or superstition of the people appears to have been on the wane, for we are told of compulsory contributions for the support of the clergy, payments at fixed periods, and angry opposition to the claim for tithe. These compulsory payments varied at different times, depending, possibly, upon the grants of land, settled endowments, and free gifts, which were from time to time made by those who believed in the efficacy of their offerings.

From these several sources, and the sums paid in commutation of penance, was supplied a fund which not only secured an easy competence, but, we are told, enabled the clerical body to live in wealth and splendour. It seems, however, that the bishop had supreme and absolute control, not only in spiritual, but in temporal matters, and to him all tithes and offerings were originally paid; but as churches and chapels increased in the rural districts, one-fourth part only was reserved by the bishop, who resigned the remainder to the parish priests, to be applied, in equal parts, for their support, for the repairs of the fabric of the church, and for charitable purposes. The bishop, however, retained a discretionary power over the application.

With respect to the subject of tithes, much obscurity hangs over its history. There can be no doubt that the payment of a tenth of the increase yearly arising from the profits of land, the stock upon lands, and the personal industry of the inhabitants, had been common before the introduction of Christianity, "from periods so early as to transcend historical record, the clergy were permitted to claim a tenth of the increase," and although these claims led to contention, still the opposing element appears gradually to have subsided, and a general consent to meet the payment ultimately prevailed.

But before this state of things was brought about, a tendency to speculate in church building arose, for the sake of getting the altar offerings of the faithful, and this appears to have led to decided action on the part of the bishops, who insisted that every church should be endowed with a sufficient glebe or estate in land. The amount fixed was one hide, equivalent to the estate of a single family, which, properly managed, would support the presbyter and his attendant clerks, and in early times his family. Doubtless the greater

number of parish churches had a very different origin, and were supported by voluntary means, needing no such endowment.

Under what authority tithes were first legally recoverable has been much discussed. It would seem that the payment of them had become very general in England, before any legislative enactment took place. In the seventh century, Boniface testifies to the payment of tithe in England. Under date A.D. 786, the payment of tithes in general was strongly enjoined in a decree made at a Synod, and in A.D. 854 or 855, King Ethelwolf granted the tithes of his land, if not of the kingdom, to the Church.* The Saxon Chronicle referring to this grant, says, "This same year (855), Ethelwolf booked the tenth part of his land throughout his realm for God's glory and his own salvation." Another authentic mention of tithes occurs in the *Fœdus Edwardi et Guthruni*, as the result of a kind of treaty between King Alfred and his son Edward the Elder, his successor, and Guthrun or Guthorm, the Danish king, who at that time was a pagan, whereby the payment was not only enjoined but was to be enforced by the imposition of a penalty. But perhaps what may be more strictly called the earliest legislation on the subject in the Anglo-Saxon laws was that of Athelstane, in the beginning of the tenth century, and later towards the middle of that century, when Edmund I. strictly commanded the payment of tithes, and declared that he who would not do it should be excommunicated. In the time of Edgar the "Peaceable," a "landowner who happened to have a church with a churchyard upon his estate, was enjoined to give the third part of his tithe to his church, but if without a churchyard, he was to give his priest what he would out of the nine parts, that is, out of what remained after the payment of his tithe to the cathedral church." † The following is one passage, among many in the Anglo-Saxon laws, directing the levy and distribution of tithe:—"Let God's dues be willingly paid every year (that is), plough alms fifteen days after Easter, the tithe of young by Pentecost, and of the fruits of the earth by All Hallow's Mass, and Rome fee by St. Peter's Mass, and lightshot thrice a year."

Before the close of Edgar's reign, matters were fully

* "Monasticon Anglicanum," vol. i. p. 100.

† Thorpe, vol. i. p. 262.

settled, and "tithe (*cyricsceat*) was directed to be paid from the hearth of every freeman to the old minster." From that time to the time of the Conquest, the payment of tithe remained a fixed charge on the land, in addition to which grants of land were freely conferred on the several churches by the Anglo-Saxons, and, by their wills, wealthy and penitent sinners added largely to the ecclesiastical revenue.

After the Conquest, the position of the Anglo-Saxon clergy was greatly changed. A victorious army of foreigners cared as little for things sacred as secular. Manors and lands and tithes were sacrilegiously taken from the bishops and clergy, and passed into the hands of secular lords. But at length, when the heat and licence of war were over, the king decreed that justice should be done; he issued his precept for the restitution of what had been wrongfully taken away or surrendered out of fear, and unless a full restitution was made, obedience to the precept was to be secured by force of arms.

We will now proceed to consider the history of the church and tithes of All Saints. The parish now called All-hallows, including the liberty of Clapcot, is partly within and partly without the ancient borough of Wallingford, and was a rectory in the gift of the Crown from an early date. Of the history of the parish church previous to the reign of King John, little or nothing is known, and not a vestige of the fabric remains, so that any attempt to prove its origin would be futile. Aided, however, by the foregoing remarks, we may be enabled to draw a reliable conclusion. Foremost among the great and wealthy landowners in the time of the Confessor, was a Saxon lord, Wigod, who resided in his Castle at Wallingford, which was in near proximity to the site of the church of All Saints. Here it was that this noble thane, lord of the town, received the Conqueror, on his arrival, after the decisive battle of Hastings, and splendidly entertained him. The parish of All Saints, which adjoins the Castle, and abuts it on two sides, was part of the territory of this great landowner, and it is certainly reasonable to suppose that the old church of the parish, which, if it did not stand within the Castle walls, was just without, was erected by this great territorial proprietor. It is not likely that Wigod was an exception among those of his time, who established

churches where they resided; but, if All Saints was not the church he erected, there were those who followed him, upon whom a sort of special obligation was cast, in consequence of the great wealth they acquired, to supply the spiritual wants of their dependents, by erecting or restoring the church in question, in the very midst of their inherited territory. We have given, in Part I., full particulars respecting Wigod and his descendants. It will, therefore, suffice here to state that his vast estates, including the Honor and Castle of Wallingford, descended first upon his only daughter and heiress, Aldgitha, who was given in marriage, by the Conqueror, to his Norman favourite, Robert d'Oyley; and afterwards upon his granddaughter, Maude, who was twice married: first in her minority, by the gift of the victorious prince, to Milo Crispin, a large Domesday landowner, who thus acquired Wallingford, and made the Castle his seat; and six years after his death, in 1113 or thereabouts, to Brian Fitzcount, who then became Lord of Wallingford in her right.

Neither Wigod, his son-in-law, nor Milo Crispin, was wanting in acts of beneficence towards the Church; and although, at first, Robert d'Oyley is said to have held a sad character for rapacity, and extended his plunders even to Church property, he soon repented of his misdeeds, and became not only a great restorer of churches, but very charitable to the poor. The Osney Register, from which an extract is given hereafter, seems to point to this very church as having been founded by Miles Crispin. It existed, we know, in the second year of the reign of King John, when Thomas de Brancastre was instituted to the "prebend," and there is a reference in the charter to his immediate and former predecessors, which shows that the church must have had an existence before that reign. There is another circumstance which, if we may judge by analogy, gives some little weight to this hypothesis. There are traces of Norman work in the neighbouring church of St. Leonard, more particularly mentioned in the after-part of these pages, which would indisputably carry us back to the early part of the eleventh century.

Probably among the mass of unexplored papers in our public depositories may be found some interesting matter respecting the earlier history of the church, but the want of

an index of public documents prior to the reign of King John renders a search among the dusty records extremely uninviting and well-nigh hopeless. Aided by the index subsequent to that date, the first authentic notice we have of the church of All Saints is A.D. 1200,* a patent of King John, whereby he granted and confirmed "to our dear clerk, Thomas de Brancastre, the prebend which Master Gerald held in our chapel of Wallingford, to wit, the church of All Saints of Wallingford, to hold in free, pure, and perpetual alms for all the days of his life." Witnesses, William, Earl Marshall, and others. Dated 30th August, 2 King John.

A.D. 1208. "The king to the Constable of Wallingford Castle, etc. ;†—Know ye that we have given to Fulk, the son of Allan Basset, the prebend which was held by Master Ralph of the Hospital, in our chapel of Walingeford; and, therefore, we command you that you cause him to have the same. In testimony, etc., 29th March."

The church of Stokes, mentioned in the next grant, is that now called North Stoke, in the county of Oxford, which was a prebend of "our chapel at Walingeford."

A.D. 1214. "Know ye that we, by the inspiration of God, have granted and confirmed to our dear clerk, William de London, the church of Stokes,‡ with all its appurtenances, which is a prebend of our chapel of Walingeford, which also belonged to Master William de Potern, and which belongs to our donation. To hold for the term of his life in free, pure, and perpetual alms, as freely and wholly as any of his predecessors." § Witnesses, the Lord J., Bishop of Norwich, and several others. Dated 11th of July.

* Patent Roll, 2 John, m. 24.

† Ibid., 9 John, m. 1.

‡ I am indebted to Mr. Edward Reade for the information contained in the following note :—

North Stoke, during the Saxon period, was called Stokes; for which the Normans substituted Stokes Basset.

For which the family of Moels, who had great influence in the reign of Edward II., temporarily substituted Stokes Mules.

In 1363, Buckingham, Bishop of Lincoln (then the diocese), substituted North Stoke.

Many old writings are extant, in which lands of this parish are described as situated in Stoke Basset, alias Stoke Mules, alias Northstoke.

§ Charter Roll, 16 John, m. 8.

"Our chapel of Wallingford" appears to be distinct from that of All Saints, and, as the next extract shows, was situated "in the Castle of Wallingford," having canons attached to it.

A.D. 1214. "William de London hath letters of our Lord the King, of presentation to the prebend, which was of Master William de Potern, in the chapel of the Lord the King, in the Castle of Walingeford, with all its appurtenances, which is in the gift of our Lord the King. And letters are directed to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, and likewise to the Canons of the same Chapel, and likewise to the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, if perchance that Prebend may be in his diocese. Witness, the Lord Bishop of Norwich, at Rochills, the 11th day of July, in the 16th year of our reign." *

In a note in Dugdale, it is stated, "according to the Osney Register, these prebends [referring apparently to the above and other deaneries at Wallingford] were founded by that great baron, Miles Crispin, who came in with the Conqueror, and died A.D. 1107." Kennett,† however, records an inquisition at Oxford, A.D. 1183. "Quod Ecclesia de Watlinton, non est de prebenda de Wallingford. Quia Milo Crispinus qui prebendas fecit, nunquam quicquam habuit in terra de Watlinton, nec de baronia illa est." This rather militates against the statement in the note; but that the possessor of the Honor of Wallingford, and of the large inheritance he acquired by marriage, never held anything in Watlington, may be open to question.

A.D. 1216. "Rex contulit Decanatum Capellæ suæ de Walengford Radulpho de Norvico." ‡

A.D. 1227. "The King to H., Bishop of Lincoln, greeting;—Know ye that upon the resignation of John de Wighenholt, Rector of the Church of Stokes, which is a prebend of the Chapel of Wallingeford, by the inspiration of God we have granted and, as much as to us belongs, have given to our dear Hugh of Bath [Hugoni de Bathon'], Clerk, the aforesaid prebend with its appurtenances; We desire, therefore, that your fatherhood, at the resignation of the aforesaid John, will do what belongs to you in this behalf, according to the custom of our aforesaid Chapel and our

* Patent Roll, 16 John, m. 15. † Vol. i. p. 130.
‡ Patent Roll, 1 Henry III., m. 13.

dignity. Witness, the King at Westminster, the 19th day of March." *

There is a reference in Dugdale † to the following document, which I have not succeeded in finding; it is probably at Lincoln:—"Stokes-Basset. Archid. Oxon. prebenda Capellæ domini regis in Castro de Wallengford. Rot. an. 18 Hugon. Episc. Linc."

A.D. 1271. On the death of Richard, King of the Romans, the following inquisition was taken relating to the Honor of Wallingford: ‡—"Extenta domini regis Aleman. de burgo suo de Wallingford, in com. Barock., facta die Veneris prox. ante Dominicam Palmarum anno regni regis Henrici filii Johannis LVI^to coram domino Fulcone de Rucote, etc., per sacramentum XII. virorum videlicet Roberti de Louthis, etc., qui dicunt per sacramentum suum quod dictus rex Aleman. tenuit dictum burgum in capite de domino rege Angliæ cum advocacionibus ecclesiarum in dicto burgo, quarum ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum valet C^s, ecclesia S. Petri valet XL^s, et ecclesia S. Michaelis valet servitium ejusdem ecclesiæ. Edmundus heres, de ætate XXII. annorum et amplius." §

A.D. 1278, 6 Edward I. As appears hereafter, the advowson of the church of All Saints was granted by King Richard II. to the Dean and Prebendaries of the College of St. Nicholas, "being the king's free chapel within the third dyke of the Castle." ‖ This college was endowed, if not founded, by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, in the above year, for the maintenance of a dean, six chaplains, six clerks, and four choristers (queristers)—according to Dugdale, they were acolytes, or taper-bearers—and was further endowed by him in A.D. 1280. The earl acquired the Castle and borough of Wallingford, the hamlet of Clapcote (from which the tithes of All Saints chiefly arose), and the entire Honor of Wallingford, from his father, Richard, King of the Romans, in 1272; and there can be little doubt that the possessions he thus acquired embraced the advowson of All Saints, of which parish Clapcote formed a part.

The following presentations to the church of All Saints

* Patent Roll, 11 Henry III., p. 1. m. 8.

† Dugdale, vol. vi. p. 1330. ‡ 56 Henry III., No. 32.

§ Roger Dodsworth, MS., vol. lxiv., fol. 38; Kennett, vol. i. p. 390.

‖ Leland

are recorded in the Registers of the Bishops of Salisbury; but no presentation appears to have been made after the reign of Richard II.:—

Date.	Name.	Presented by	Vice.
1199	Master Gerard.		
1201	Thomas de Brancastre.		
1309, Apr. 11	John de Bray, clerk.*	The king.	
1325, Nov. 11	John de Wyverthorpe, clerk.†	The king.	Last incumbent resigned.
1339, Jan. 13	Peter de Brumpton, clerk.‡	Duke of Cornwall.	
1349, Aug. 29	John de Norton, priest.	Edward, Prince of Wales.	Thomas Rasen, dismissed.
1362, Jan. 11	William Clobhs, priest.	Prince of Wales.	John Wyndone, dead.

It appears by the foregoing extracts that King Edward II. exercised the right of presentation to the church of All Saints during his reign, which terminated in A.D. 1327, and that in 1339 and subsequently the presentations were made by the Prince of Wales. We may deduce from these facts that the Crown living of All Saints passed to the Prince of Wales, with the Castle and Honor of Wallingford, under the act of 1335, § and was held by him as part of the Duchy of Cornwall. Previous to the alienation, the possessions of the Earl of Cornwall belonged to the king, Edward I., as his next heir, and on the latter's death they became the inheritance of Edward of Carnarvon (Edward II.), who, about the third year of his reign (1310), granted them to his favourite Piers Gaveston, "Baron" of Wallingford. On the latter's death, in 1312, the Castle and honor reverted to the Crown. Still, we do not find that the king presented, although, by the deed next set out, King Richard II., in 1389, granted the advowson of the church of All Saints to the College of St. Nicholas as before mentioned.

* Register of Bishop Simon of Gaunt (Gandavo).
† Ditto of Bishop Mortival. ‡ Ditto of Bishop Wyvyle.
§ See vol. ii. p. 3.

[Copy of Grant.]

"Carta Regis Ricardi II., de donatione advocationis Ecclesiæ Omnium Sanctorum in Wallingford;*

"Rex, etc.;—Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali dedimus et concessimus dilectis nobis in X^to^ Decano et Collegio infra Castrum nostrum de Walyngford advocationem Ecclesiæ Omnium Sanctorum in villa de Walyngford, quæ quidem Ecclesia non valet ultra centum solidos per annum ut dicitur, habendam et tenendam prædictis Decano et Collegio et successoribus suis de nobis et hæredibus nostris per servicia inde debita et consueta in perpetuum; et iisdem Decano et Collegio, quod ipsi Ecclesiam prædictam, licet non præsentaverint ad eandem, appropriare et eam sic appropriatam in proprios usus tenere possint, sibi et successoribus suis in augmentationem sustentationis suæ in perpetuum, tenore presentium licentiam dedimus specialem; statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito non obstante. In cujus, etc. Teste rege apud Westm. xxvi° Januaij."

[Translation of Grant.]

"Know ye that of our special favour we have given and granted to our beloved in Christ, the Dean and College within our Castle of Wallingford, the advowson of the Church of All Saints in the town of Wallingford, which same church is not worth more than one hundred shillings per annum, as it is said, to be had and held by the aforesaid Dean and College, from us and our heirs, by the due and customary services in perpetuity; and by these presents we have given special licence to the same Dean and College to appropriate the aforesaid church, although they may not have presented to the same, and to hold this church so appropriated to their own proper uses. To be held by themselves and their successors in augmentation of their subsistence in perpetuity, the Statute passed against putting lands and tenements in mortmain notwithstanding."

In the above royal grant no express provision was made for spiritual ministrations in the parish, nor does it appear to have been necessary, for the obligation to do parochial duty

* Patent Roll, 12 Richard II., part ii. memb. 29.

was incident to the grant, which did not and could not abrogate the advowson. Besides, the obligation was kept alive, and enforced by the stringent provisions * in the Statutes that were passed in the reign of the grantor himself, and subsequently confirmed by the Statute of 4 Henry IV., cap. 12, which gave the Act of Richard a retrospective effect, and enacted that, in every appropriation where the vicar shall not have been well and sufficiently endowed, "All the vicarages united, annexed, or appropried, and the licences thereof had after the first year of the said King Richard, how well soever that they which have united, annexed, or appropried such vicarages be in possession of the same vicarages, or by the virtue of such licences may in any wise be in possession of the same in any time to come, that they shall be also utterly void, revoked, anulled, and disappropried for ever."

Moreover, the church stood within three hundred yards of the college, and, as was customary, even before the establishment of vicarages about 1224,† the parochial duties in such a case devolved on some member of a religious house, if within a reasonable distance; doubtless, therefore, the ecclesiastics of the college supplied the cure. Looking at the stringency of these Statutes, it is difficult to understand how in later times their provisions could have escaped observance, particularly in this case, where the small or vicarial tithes were appropriated, as well as the great tithes, and are now held together by Pembroke College, in the form of rent charge under the Tithe Commutation Act. The Statutes quoted have not been repealed; indeed, several decisions in courts of law have been based upon them—notably the case of Bonsey *v.* Lee: "An impropriator of small tithes is bound to maintain a priest where there is no vicarage endowed;" ‡ and in Blackstone's "Commentaries:" "It is not in all appropriations that a vicar exists or perpetual curate; in those cases the appropriator is bound from time to time to provide some person in holy orders to perform the same duty, and to pay him a proper remuneration for his services;" § and by Lord Mansfield (1796): "The nomination of a curate is a duty incumbent upon the impropriate rector, and to be enforced against him, if the service

* 15 Richard II., cap. 6; 4 Henry IV., cap. 12. † 8 Henry III.

‡ Burn's "Ecclesiastical Law," vol. i. p. 81, 9th edit.

§ Blackstone, vol. v., 25th edit.

of the church is neglected, by a sequestration of the right of the rectory;" and again in the recent elaborate work of Sir Robert Phillimore, late Dean of the Arches, the same principle of law is laid down, and in vol. i., p. 275, he states: "The Statutes of 15 Richard II., cap. 6, and 4 Henry IV., cap. 12, require that vicarages shall be regularly endowed."

Measures having a similar tendency were passed at a Synod held some fifteen years after the deposition of King Richard II.

At the Council of Constance, in the reign of Henry V. (1414), various reforms were allowed by the Fathers, and confirmed by Pope Martin V., for securing better attendance at the parish churches, for preventing improper appropriations, and for securing to vicars a complete endowment for their maintenance and for the exercise of hospitality.

In fact, there is no want of legislative provision, nor of judicial decision for preventing spiritual destitution in parishes, such as that which has existed in the parish of All Saints for some two hundred and fifty years; and had the authorities of Pembroke College been aware of the legal obligation, which we must assume they now acknowledge, the crying complaints of the parishioners would doubtless have been long ago removed.

From A.D. 1389 till 16 Henry VIII.—about one hundred and thirty years—no records affecting the parish of All Saints or its tithes have been found, beyond a record of the augmentation of the revenues of the College of St. Nicholas by King Henry VI., probably about the year 1430.

The College of St. Nicholas.

This college and the church or chapel belonging to it were situated at the south-east corner of the "area circumscribed by the surrounding fortifications;" and Leland, in his "Itinerary," * states, "There were a dean and prebendaries in the king's free chapel, within the third dyke of the Castle here, in the beginning of King John's reign—and probably before —which Edmund, Earl of Cornwall (10 Edward I.), endowed with lands and rents for the maintenance of six chaplains, six clerks, and four choristers," etc.; and after referring, in another part of his "Itinerary," to the situation of this col-

* Vol. ii. p. 40.

legiate chapel among the buildings within the third dyke of the Castle, he adds, "Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, was the first founder and endower of the college." Hence a doubt is suggested as to the date of the foundation. In the reign of King John, two chapels are mentioned, the one being that of All Saints, and the other the chapel in the Castle, to which canons were attached. Leland appears to connect the College of St. Nicholas with the latter; and, probably, what was intended to be conveyed by the words, "Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, was the first founder and endower of the college," was simply that the college was grafted on the old foundation, but so remodelled and liberally endowed by him, that he was virtually the founder.

"The confirmation of the charter of the foundation of the college," in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, gives the date A.D. 1278—6 and 7 Edward I. The following is a translation:—

"Edward, by the grace of God, King of England and Lord of Ireland, etc., to all his archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, justices, sheriffs, governors, magistrates, and to all his bailiffs and faithful subjects, greeting;—

"We have inspected a charter, which Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, granted to the Almighty, to the blessed Virgin Mary, and to the Chapel of St. Nicholas, in our Castle of Wallingford, of the following tenor:

"'To all to whom this present writing shall come. Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, greeting in the Lord;—

"'Be it known to all men that we, for the salvation of our own soul, of the souls of Richard, King of the Romans, our father; Schenchia, our mother; of Henry, (late) King of England, our uncle; and for the soul of our sovereign, Edward (the First), King of England; and for the souls of all the faithful, who have died in the Lord: have given and granted and, by this charter, have confirmed to God, to the blessed Virgin Mary, and to the Chapel of St. Nicholas, in our Castle of Wallingford, and to the master (*magistro*) of the said chapel, and for the support of the said master of the said chapel, of the five prebendaries, six priests, and four choristers, serving God in the said chapel, and of their servants for ever, forty pounds yearly rent in Warebrewe and Shillingford, with their appurtenances, to be received from those who shall be in possession of the said farms, by two

half-yearly payments—that is to say, twenty pounds at the Feast of St. Michael, and twenty pounds at Easter.

"'To have and to hold, as aforesaid, to God, the blessed Virgin Mary, and to the Chapel of St. Nicholas, and to the master of the said chapel, and to their successors, well and in peace, freely and quietly for ever, in liberal, pure, and perpetual alms.

"'Moreover, we and our heirs will warrant and secure the said forty pounds of yearly rent, in the aforesaid farms of Warebrewe and Shillingford, to God, to the blessed Virgin Mary, to the master of the said chapel, and to their successors, deans of the said chapel, against all people; and we will acquit and defend them from all burthens, services, and demands whatsoever, as well within as without for ever.

"'And that this our donation, concession, and confirmation of this present charter may for ever remain fixed and permanent, we have caused our seal to be fixed thereto. Witnesses, Sampson Foliot, Adam son of Rualdus, Robert Malet, and Peter de . . . , John Marc, John Heiruit, John Carbonel, Fulco de Rucote, Hugh Durinal, Ralph Dayrell, knights, and many others.

"'Given at Wallingford, on Friday, on the Feast of the Nativity of the aforesaid John the Baptist, in the sixth year of the reign of King Edward, son of Henry the Third.'

"Now we, Edward, grant and confirm the aforesaid donation and concession to God, the blessed Virgin Mary, and to the master of the said chapel, and to their successors," etc.

The revenues of this college were further augmented by Edward the Black Prince, as appears by the following certificate, in which he is erroneously called the founder:—

CERTIFICATE OF COLLEGES AND CHANTRIES: BERKS, No. 51.

36

"The Towne off Wallyngforde.	One Colledge of Seynte Nicholas there,	founded by

"Prynce Edward, the sonne of Kynge Edwarde the Thyrde, & endued the same wythe lands & tenements to the entente to have one Deane, vi. prests, syxe clerks, iiij. queresters dayly synge the Dyvyne service; And to pray for the soules of thancesters and posterytie of the said Prynce Edwarde, whyche they do observe accordingly.

"The said College ys scituate w'in the Castell of Wallyngforde, & ys no parish churche."

The prince also gave to the college the advowson of the church of Harwell, in Berkshire; and King Henry VI., being informed that the chapel was so impoverished that it could not be maintained according to the foundation, bestowed on it a revenue of ten marks yearly, to be paid by his receiver of his Honor of Wallingford.*

Between the years 1510 and 1536, the steeple was built by Dr. Underhill, who was dean during that period. Leland † states, "The Deane afore Dr. London that now is, built a fair steple of stone at the west end of the collegiate chapel, in making whereof he defaced, without licence, a piece of the King's lodging joining to the eastward end of the chapel. The Decane (dean) hath a fair lodging of tymbre, within the Castle, and to it is joined a place for the ministers of the chapel."

The letter from Dr. London, who was Dean of the College of St. Nicholas in 1536, and of whom more appears hereafter, set out in order of date—states a fact which, it is believed, is not elsewhere recorded—namely, that the college, including as well the dean's as the priests' and clerks' lodgings, had been nearly wholly rebuilt by King Henry the Eighth, "within these eight years past"—that would be, probably, about the year 1530; and the dean then prays the king to bestow on his college, in Wallingford Castle, the ornaments from the dissolved monastery of Abingdon, of which it stood in great need.

Letter CCCXXIII. in Ellis's "Original Letters," probably about 1538. Dr. London to the Lord Privy Seal:—

"In my most humble maner I have me commendyd vnto your gudde Lordeshipp with my assurede prayer and boundon servys during my liff. In lyke humble maner, thanking your Lordeshipp for all your manyfolde goodness schewyd unto me and to my frynde, your Abbott of Osney, by whose preferment your Lordeshipp hathe nott oonly don a great

* Dugdale, "Monasticon Anglicanum," tom. vi. pt. 3, p. 1330.

† Vol. ii. p. 40.

benefytt to that ruynose Monastery and the brethern ther, butt also to the hole town and contry abowt Oxford.

"Having no other refuge to sew unto, saving oonly yow, my most singuler gudde Lorde, am at thys present tyme an humble sutar for the king's grace, and my Lorde and Patrone our Princes Colledge in hys Grace is Castell at Walingforde, wher it pleasyd hys Majestye of hys most benign gudnes to make me hys servant and Dean. Thys Colledge wasse fyrst foundyd by the most noble of memory, Prince Edwarde, callyde the Blacke Prince, and by the Lorde Edmonde, som tyme Duke of Cornwall, and by them and by the most noble and excellent of memory, the Kinges Grace father, Kinge Henry the vijth, indewyd with londs for the maintenance of a Dean, vj. Prests, vj. Clarks, a Decon, and iiij. choristars. Every man's portion dewly payde, very litill remaynythe to bere other chardges of that Chapell, wherebye suche ornaments as thees noble founders gave unto that Chapell do oonly remayne, very olde and dyuers of them past mending. The Kinges Grace of hys most tendre benyvolens born to that hys Grace and our most noble Princes Colledge dydde within thees viij. yeres past bylde newly the hole Colledge, in maner all, as well the Deans as the Prests and Clerks lodgyngs. And syns the fyrst noble founders decesyd, hys Grace is most noble father and hys Majestye have be the gretist benefactors that euer we hadde. Now we do here that M. Chaunceler of the Augmentation, and M. Danaster schall dispose the ornaments of the Churche within hys Grace is Howse at Abyngdon, and other things perteynyng vnto the same. Wherfor I do most humbly besek your gudde Lordeshippe now to be a mean for vsse, hys most boundon orators of hys Grace is Colledg in Walingford, to geve vnto vss suche ornaments of that Churche in Abyngdon as be necessary for vsse. We have very few copys, few vestments, and butt oon awlter clothe of sylk, and all thees very olde. If it may please the Kinges Grace to socor vsse, and to bestow any of those ornaments vpon vsse, I will at my chardge repayer them, and sett in euery of them hys Grace is armys, with a scripture of memorye that hys Grace conferryd suche ornaments to that hys Grace is Colledg; and we all and our successors schall, according to our most boundon dewties, pray vnto Almyztie Godde long to preserve his most noble Grace

and your gudde Lordeschippe, by whose mediation we have obtaynyd so greatt a benyfytt. Oxon, xxiij. Februarii [1538].

"Yo^r Lordeschipp most boundon,

"JOHN LONDON.

"To my most honorable and singuler gudde Lorde, my Lord of the Pryvie Seale." *

Some doubt exists as to the time when the College of St. Nicholas was suppressed. It survived its neighbour, the Priory of the Holy Trinity, which was dissolved under the pope's bull in or about the year 1525, and had its possessions granted to Cardinal Wolsey, in aid of the building or endowing of his college at Oxford, now Christ Church. There were two other religious houses in Wallingford, namely, the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, with St. Mary Magdalene at Newnham in connection with it, and St. Lucien, both of which may be classed as monastic institutions, although, as to the latter, but little is known. Dugdale † states that the cardinal procured the pope's bull for dissolving the priory "and other small monasteries in 1525;" and according to Froude, ‡ it was in the same year that Wolsey employed Thomas Cromwell to break up these small monasteries; but they are not particularized, and it is therefore uncertain whether these general words embraced the religious houses above mentioned, and at what period the suppression took place. The Act whereby the king bestowed on the cardinal the small monasteries was passed in 1529, in the twentieth year of his reign.

The certificates, *post*, p. 311, point to the early part of the reign of Edward VI. as the time when the college was suppressed; but the recital next referred to appears to show that the tithes of Clapcote passed away from the college at an earlier period.

In the grant of these tithes to Pembroke College, Oxford, in 1626, there is a recital to the effect that such tithes were formerly the possessions of Cardinals Wolsey and Pole. They were given, as appears before, by Richard II. to the College

* Ellis's "Original Letters," 3rd series, vol. iii., p. 177.

† Dugdale, "Monasticon Anglicanum," tom. iii. p. 278.

‡ Froude's "History of England," vol. ii. p. 110.

of St. Nicholas, and if they had not been severed as part of its income, it may be inferred that St. Nicholas' College was deprived of this portion of its revenues under the pope's bull in 1525. The Act of 27 Henry VIII., cap. 28, which was passed eleven years afterwards, for the suppression of the small monasteries, colleges, free chapels, and chantries, was after Wolsey's death, and it will be observed that three deans were appointed subsequently to 1525.

In the appendix to Strype's "Ecclesiastical Memorials,"* are given the names of the parsonages appropriated to the cardinal's college at Oxford, but no mention of All Saints, nor reference to St. Nicholas College occurs; the only two parsonages in Berkshire being Chaddleworth and Kyngston, and in page 132 are inserted the names of the monasteries "layd to the cardinal's college," and Poghley is the only one in that county.†

It is stated, however, in "Liber Valorum," that the particulars of the benefices granted to the cardinal in Berkshire and Oxfordshire have been partly lost; and a note in the "Valor Ecclesiasticus" suggests the probability of a wilful omission or abstraction as respects the two counties.

A full account of the priory is given in a subsequent page, and these particulars are introduced here as being in connection with Wolsey's suppression of the smaller houses.

The actual settlement of the revenues of the priory and other monastic institutions on the Oxford college does not appear to have taken place, for within four years after the grant all the possessions reverted to the Crown on Wolsey's attainder, and some of them were afterwards dealt with by King Edward VI., under the Statute of the first year of his reign, which was passed for completing the work left unfinished under the Act of his father. It was in October, 1529, that the first prosecution of the cardinal commenced, for procuring bulls from the pope without the king's licence;

* Vol. i. pt. 2, p. 130.

† In Thomas's "Handbook of Public Records," under the heading "Cardinal's Bundles or Inquisitions," is a list of the monasteries, etc., that surrendered to Cardinal Wolsey, and among them St. Friswid and Littlemore are mentioned in addition to Wallingford Priory and that of Poghley.

in December following, the court pronounced him "beyond the protection of the law, that his lands, goods, and chattels, were forfeited, and that his person was at the mercy of the king." In February, 1530, Wolsey was pardoned, and although the see of Winchester, and some other emoluments were restored to him, subsequent dealings with the tithes of All Saints and other revenues, rebut the presumption that they formed any part of the restored property. Very soon after this he was arrested on a charge of high treason, and died in the month of November, 1530.

Cromwell's was the master hand in breaking up the smaller monasteries and religious houses, but there was one associated with him equally zealous and probably much less scrupulous; this was the above-mentioned John London, LL.D., who was called the last Dean of the College of Saint Nicholas. He was also Dean of Osney, Warden of New College, Oxford, Canon of York, Lincoln, Sarum, and of St. George's, Windsor, and rector of several parishes. Upon him seems to have devolved some of the practical part of the work under the direction of his chief, whose power was almost unlimited as a member of Parliament; it is said of Cromwell that he led the House of Commons, and exercised all the functions of a modern prime minister; as Earl of Essex, his authority in no way abated, and when he was appointed vicar-general (which was four years before he was created a peer), we are told by Dr. Hook that he took precedence of the archbishops.* It was in this latter character that he received the king's authority to hold visitations of monasteries, colleges, chantries, etc., throughout England, and appoint assistant commissioners.† London had been a great champion of the pope, but he now recanted his former opinions, and, with his colleagues, renounced the name of "his holiness." What arguments he used with the unfortunate monks in support of his apostacy must be matter of conjecture, but his mission was effectually accomplished by reporting charges of gross immorality against both monks and nuns, upon which the before-mentioned Act of 27 Henry VIII. was based,

* "Lives of the Archbishops," vol. vi. p. 76.

† "Dr. John London was the last dean, 1536" (Dugdale, p. 1331). It may, however, be doubted whether Dean John Dunne did not succeed him.

whereby small abbeys, priories, and other religious houses that were not above the yearly value of £200 were given to the king and his successors for ever, together with all such ornaments, jewels, goods, and chattels, and debts, which belonged to the chief governors of the same. A provision is made for pensioning such of them as his Majesty shall please, "most tender respect being shown to those who shall preserve the ornaments, jewels, etc., from spoil;" and also for giving the convents the option of living abroad, or in the great monasteries, "wherein good religion is observed," as shall be limited by his Highness.

Cromwell appears to have delegated his authority under this Statute to his assistant commissioners in the most ample manner. The various classes of religious houses were gradually suppressed, and their possessions seized, and slight consideration was shown towards the monks and nuns; those who would not go voluntarily were turned out of their homes, and obliged to stroll about the country for their bread. No one, says Dr. Hook, was more zealous than Dr. London in punishing the suspected monks, by turning them adrift in the world, seizing their houses, and confiscating their property. Many of the churches were pulled down, or turned into malthouses or stables, or pigeon-houses, and few places and things which had been accounted holy escaped desecration or utter neglect. Although immorality and profligacy in the religious houses were alleged as the chief reasons for suppression, yet "out of nineteen religious houses visited there was only one in which the existence of any moral delinquency was found;" yet all alike shared the same fate.

But what presents so lamentable a picture in these proceedings is the narration of the amount of criminality of which these commissioners, and others acting under their authority, are represented to have been guilty. Acts of depravity are described, particularly as respects unsuspecting nuns, far surpassing in baseness the immorality for which these very persons so fiercely, though hypocritically, denounced the monastic institutions.

Not one of the commissioners, says Dr. Hook, "seems to have been of a serious and religious turn of mind, while charges of immorality were brought against all, and in one case fully established." The case referred to is, no doubt,

that of Dr. London, who, for his criminal conduct at Oxford, was obliged to do open penance in that city.*

Extract from Certificates of Colleges and Chantries, *temp.* Henry VIII., referring to the College of St. Nicholas.

"The value of the lands, tenements, & other possessions apperteynynge to y^e^ said Colledge, clv^li^ iiij^s^ j^d^ ob., whereof:—

For the Kyngs M^ties^ Tenthe ...	xiiij^li^	xiiij^s^ ix^d^ ob. q.
For rents resolute		lxiij^s^ iij^d^
For proxes, indempnyties, and sinodalles		lxx^s^
For y^e^ stipend of vi. prests ...	xl^li^	
For y^e^ stipend of vi. clerks ...	xxviij^li^	
For iiij. queristers	viij^li^	
For y^e^ sextons stipend		xxv^s^ viij^d^
For a pencion to the Church of All Hallows, in Wallingford ...		xl^s^
For certain obbytts yerely ...	vi^li^	vi^s^ vij^d^
For wages of certeyn manuall servantes ther	iiij^li^	xiij^s^ iiij^d^
For brede, wyn, wax, & oyle ...		c^s^

"And so remayneth xxxviij^li^ viij^s^ v^d^, whyche ys imployed as well towards the lyvynge of Johne Dune, Deane, as also towards the repayrying y^e^ tenements and houses thereunto belonging.

"Ornaments, plate, jewells, etc., appearyth by an inventory thereof."

It will be observed that this valuation is £7 or £8 in excess of the sums previously mentioned, but the figures here quoted accurately give the total of £155 4*s.* 1*d.*, namely—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Amount of the several charges enumerated	116	15	8
Balance remaining, as stated in certificate	38	8	5
	£155	4	1

* Strype, vol. i. p. 582.

The list of Deans of the College of St. Nicholas is very imperfect.

Roger, or Robert, de Drayton is mentioned as dean in 1283
Richard Fell, or Feld, was elected in ... 1318
Stephen Morpeth 1416
He also occurs in ... ... 1445 and 1460
Stephen Bereworth resigned in 1510
John Underhill, Bachelor of Canon Law, succeeded in this year (1510), and was dean in 1534
In the grant the deanery is called that of the College, or Free Chapel, of St. Mary and St. Nicholas in Wallingford.*
John Higden, Dean of the Cardinal's College, is said to have been also Dean of Wallingford 1528
John London in 1536
John Dunne is referred to as dean in the certificate, 2 Edward VI.† 1549

The following letter—relating to the suppression of a religious house at Caversham, Oxon—from Dr. London to Cromwell, is taken from Wright's "Suppression of the Monasteries," published by the Camden Society: ‡—

"In my most humble maner, I have me commendyd unto yower gude lordeschippe, acertenyng the same that I have pullyd down the image of our ladye at Caversham, wherunto wasse great pilgremage. The image ys platyd over with sylver, and I have putt yt in a cheste fast lockyd and naylyd uppe, and by the next bardge that comythe from Reding to London yt shall be browght to your lordeschippe. I have also pullyd down the place sche stode in, with all other ceremonyes, as lightes, schrowdes, crowchys, and imagies of wex, hangyng abowt the chapell, and have defacyd the same thorowly in exchuyng of any farther resortt thedyr. Thys chapell dydde belong to Notley Abbey,§ and ther always wasse a chanon of that monastery wiche wasse callyd the

* Brewer, vol. i. p. 147.
† See Dugdale's "Monasticon Anglicanum," tom. vi. pt. 3, p. 1330.
‡ Cleo. E. iv. 225, B. M.
§ In Bucks.; founded in 1162.

Warden of Caversham, and he songe in thys chapell, and hadde the offeringes for hys lyving. He wasse acostomyd to shew many prety relykes, among the wiche wer (as he made reportt) the holy dager that kylled Kinge Henry,* and the holy knyfe that kylled seynt Edwarde.† All thees, with many other, with the cotes of thys image, her cappe and here, my servant shall bring unto your lordeschippe thys wek, with the surrendre of the Freers, under the covent seale and their seale also. I have sent the chanon home agen to Notleye, and have made fast the doores of the chapell; wiche ys thorowly well coverd with ledde; and, if it be your lordeschips pleasure, I shall se yt made suer to the Kinges graces use. And if it be nott so orderyd, the chapell standith so wildely that the ledde will be stolyn by nyzt, as I wasse servyd at the Fryers; for as soon as I hadde taken the Fryers surrendre, the multytude of the poverty of the Town resortyd thedyr, and all thinge that myzt be hadde they stole away, insomyche that they hadde convayd the very clapers of the bellys. And, saving that Mr. Fachell—wiche made me great chere at hys howse—and the mayer dydde assist me, they wolde have made no litill spoyle. In thys I have don as moche as I cowde do to save everything to the Kinges graces use, as shall apper to your lordeschippe at the begynnyng of the terme, Godde willinge, who, with increse of moche honour long preserve your gudde lordeschippe. At Redinge, xvij° Septembris.

"At Caversham ys a proper lodginge, wher the chanon lay, with a fayer garden and an orcherd mete to be bestowyd upon som frynde of your lordeschips in thes parties, for the chanon hadde nothing to do ther butt to kepe the chapell and receyve the offringes. . . .

"Your most bounden oratour and servant,

"John London."

Cromwell profitably employed the period of uncertainty, after the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, and before his plans for suppressing the larger ones were made known, by "battening upon the hopes and fears of all who were

* Henry VI. This is curious, as showing the established belief that the king had been murdered.

† Edward the Martyr, the son and successor of King Edgar.

dependent on monastic property." Money flowed into his coffers from all who had favours to seek, and the amount of wealth amassed by him from bribes and otherwise is said to have been marvellous.

A pretext for the accomplishment of the entire suppression of monastic institutions, and the confiscation of their property, was afforded by the serious outbreaks that occurred in many parts of England, and which were encouraged, if not brought about, by the expelled monks, who had now become houseless wanderers, with but slight means of subsistence. In order to effect the dissolution, the same unworthy means were resorted to as in the case of the smaller religious houses. The monasteries, where "religion was so well kept and observed," were no longer to be a refuge for those of the destitute and lately expelled monks who had been allowed to enter. The guarantee, which the Act implied, of undisturbed possession, was set at nought. Allegations of the "detestable lives the friars led in many of the convents," and general accusations against the monastic order, were made, under the colour of a second visitation; and by such means, and "bribes and promises, and politic appointments," the heads of houses were prepared, in most instances, to surrender. One plan was to cause an abbot to resign, and appoint a successor who was known to be willing to surrender the house; but in cases where these influences could not be brought to bear, the system adopted to enforce submission was one of cruel severity, in which the passions of those concerned were uncurbed, and the acts of depravity previously mentioned were renewed in all their vileness. In some instances, where a voluntary submission could not be obtained, a charge of treason was made against the abbot, which resulted in the penalty of death, as in the instances of the Abbots of Reading and Glastonbury.

"Hugh Faringdon, the last Abbot of Reading Abbey, refusing to deliver up his abbey to the visitors, was attainted of high treason, on some charge trumped up against him; and in the month of November, 1539, with two of his monks, named Rugg and Onion, was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Reading. This happened on the same day on which the Abbot of Glastonbury suffered the like sentence for the similar provocation."

Reading Abbey was too rich a prize to be lost, its revenues at the dissolution having been valued at £1938 14*s.* 3*d.* The abbot had an "excellent summer retirement," at Cholsey, near Wallingford, called Abbot's Place, by which name it was granted to Sir Francis Englefield in the fourth and fifth years of the reign of Philip and Mary.

It may be added that the yearly value of the Abbey of Abingdon was £2042 2*s.* 8*d.* at the dissolution, worth, in 1827, according to Cobbett, in his "Protestant Reformation," £40,842 14*s.* 2*d.*; and Wallingford College, with a yearly revenue of £147 8*s.*, *temp.* Henry VIII., as worth, in 1827, £2848 0*s.* 10*d.*

While Cromwell enriched himself in the way described, he amply replenished the treasury of his royal master with the confiscated property, which the Act of 1539 vested absolutely in the king and his successors. The estimated value of the monasteries and religious houses confiscated under the first Act, was £32,000 a year, and under the second Act £161,000 per annum; but these figures are far from representing the amount of riches acquired. A vast addition was made by the seizure of the goods and chattels, and pillaging the rich shrines. Among the latter that of Thomas à Becket alone, which had been enriched with gold and jewels and precious stones, ever since the reign of Henry II., yielded treasure of prodigious value. "The king, on the whole, suppressed 645 monasteries, 90 colleges were demolished in several counties, 2374 chantries and free chapels, and 110 hospitals." *

Within five years, says another authority, was completed the confiscation of a fifth or a fourth part of the landed property of England and Wales.

And then we are asked to believe, if we can sufficiently tax our credulity, and so construe the Acts of Parliament, that the condemnation of the smaller houses were based solely and wholly upon the alleged immorality and misconduct of the inmates; that the surrender of the greater establishments was the free and voluntary act, without constraint, of the abbots, priors, and ecclesiastical governors; and that the mass of wealth thus acquired was the legitimate possession for "better uses" of his most excellent Majesty!

Thus monks, and abbots, and nuns, and all their depend-

* Hume, vol. iii. p. 157.

ents and labourers—10,000 it is said, at the least—were turned adrift on the world, some few on small pensions granted under the Act, but the great majority to seek a maintenance as best they could; and that at a time when the punishment for begging was cruel to an extreme. By the Act of 27 Henry VIII. against vagrants, "rufflers, sturdy vagabonds, and valiant beggars" were, for a first offence, to be whipped; for a second offence not only to be whipped again, but to have the upper part of the gristle of the right ear clean cut off; and for a third act of vagrancy committed by one, "the gristle of whose ear had been cut off clean," the punishment was death as a felon and enemy of the commonwealth! but an exception is made in favour of "impotent persons" begging within certain prescribed limits.

The severity of this Act was mitigated in the next reign, but the later enactment was plainly levelled against the monks and friars and others, who roamed about the country, getting their bread by giving entertainments, and so forth. An able-bodied vagrant was liable to be branded with the letter V (vagabond), and adjudged a slave for two years; if he ran away from such service, he was to be a slave for life, and for a second offence, he was to be put to death.

After the dissolution of religious houses, the church of St. Nicholas, with the buildings connected with it, was despoiled of all the materials that could be converted into immediate use or profit, and suffered to go to decay; so that soon after, in the reign of Philip and Mary, as appears by the inquisition taken at that period (A.D. 1555), already noticed (vol. ii. p. 96), but little remained of the edifice except the outer walls and the steeple, which latter had been despoiled of its bells, though, in other respects, it seems to have been in a less dilapidated state than the body of the church was at that time; however, the steeple has since been entirely taken away, and nothing remains of these collegiate buildings but the ruined portions of the outer walls.

The ruins now remaining show that the college was constructed of limestone (malm, as it is called in the certificate), intermixed with a few flints, cemented together by concrete, upon which the ravages of time have had but little effect when compared with the stone. The south wall, which is still of considerable height, is nine feet thick, in some parts

blocks of concrete were used, and may be traced in the upper portion of the tower, which we may suppose formed the base of the steeple. An extensive view over the adjoining country is obtained from the summit, which is easily approached by a path formed along the top of the wall. The doorway and windows, constructed of freestone, of which four remain on the west, overlooking what is traditionally called the priest's orchard, bear traces of alterations late in the fourteenth or in the fifteenth century. It is supposed that the burying-ground belonging to the church adjoined the latter on the south-east and was used for the garrison. Human bones are frequently turned up, in the garden ground in the situation indicated.

Biographers differ in their opinion of the character of Cromwell: some eulogize him and many of his acts, while others go very far in the opposite direction; but it is foreign to our purpose to enter into this question. That the means he resorted to in suppressing the monastic institutions were unjust and tyrannical cannot be doubted; but we do not find that he exhibited a like hostility towards the parish churches, when unconnected with monastic institutions. His injunctions to the clergy in 1536—when he was vicar-general, and in that character had the entire delegation of the king's supremacy, and consequently authority over all ecclesiastics—expressly aim at upholding the churches, and securing proper religious services. They exhort and enjoin, under penalties of suspension and sequestration, the regular and solemn performance of divine service in all parish churches; the teaching of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments; the due and reverent administration of the sacraments by resident vicars and curates; and the distribution of a portion of the spiritual income in works of charity, and in keeping up the churches in proper repair.

These injunctions, which are set out in Collier,* with others having a similar tendency, and the translation of the Bible into English, were published by him for general use and observance. Looking at their scope, and the faith Cromwell expressed in the prayer † he offered up just before his execution, it is difficult to concur in the opinion of Cavendish and others, that he was destitute of any religious belief. According to Collier, he was somewhat inclined to the Lutheran

* Vol. v. p. 364. † See Hall's "Chronicle," p. 839.

persuasion. Dr. Hook calls him a religious tradesman, who supported the party from which he could gain most; a statesman to whom religion was a branch of politics. At any rate, we cannot, on the ground of irreligion, class him with those who would despoil the parish church.

He was arrested in June, 1540, on a colourable charge of heresy and treason, condemned to death "without trial, examination, or evidence," * and executed at Tower Hill, a month afterwards. "He was worthy," says Hume, "of a better master and a better fate."

Now, whatever may be thought of his chief, not a word of extenuation can be said in favour of Dr. London; † by general consent, he proved to be a worthless and depraved ecclesiastic, and his connection, as head of the College of St. Nicholas, with the work of spoliation, points to an agency under which any amount of injustice might have been perpetrated. That such a man should have been indifferent to the spiritual interests of the parish of All Saints, with which he was ecclesiastically connected, and a willing instrument in diverting its revenues, admits of no surprise; probably he enriched himself, to no insignificant extent, out of the spoil of the wholesale plunder which he aided and abetted, exacting large sums for a pretended indulgent exercise of his powers, while some of his more scrupulous colleagues were content to receive a modest bribe for a concealed evasion of their duties. Of course, the revenues of St. Nicholas, including the tithes of the parish of All Saints, did not escape, and shared, if nothing worse, the fate that befell so large a portion of the real property of the country; and although, according to Hume, the greatest care was taken to distinguish between church property and monastic property, and the former, as a rule, remained untouched, yet in this almost exceptional case of Allhallows, not only the great, but the vicarial tithes also were diverted from their original and legitimate purpose, and, with an utter disregard of the legal obligation that existed, the parish, comprising so large an area, and containing a population at that time far exceeding its present number, was then and has ever since been left in a state of spiritual destitution.

* Hume.

† See more of Dr. London in col. 660 of vol. i. of "Athenæ Oxon."

It may be added of this Dr. London, that he was tried and convicted of perjury and other serious offences, for one of which he was compelled to ride in a degrading position through the public streets of Oxford, and for other such offences he underwent a similar punishment at Windsor and Wokingham, and elsewhere, stripped of his dignities, and posted as a perjurer and adulterer. Froude says,* "in each town he was placed in a pillory, where every voice might revile, and every hand might hurl filth at him, and then he was thrust away into the Fleet Prison, where he miserably died," in 1540.

Henry VIII. had not completed the work of confiscation before he died, in 1547, and a portion of the revenues of St. Nicholas' College were unrealized at that time; the appropriation, therefore, of the remaining revenues devolved on his son, under the Statute of 1 Edward VI., which enacted—

That all colleges, free chapels, and chantries, being or *in esse* within five years next before the day of the then Parliament, which were not in the actual possession of the late or present king, and all lands, tithes, etc., to them, or any of them belonging, should be adjudged and be in the actual possession of the king, his heirs and assigns for ever, without any inquisition thereof to be found.

That the king should direct commissions to such persons as he should please, with full powers of survey and search, and to make and ordain a vicar to have perpetuity for ever in every parish church, appropriated, annexed, or united to any college, free chapel, or chantry that should come to the king's hands by virtue of the Act, and to endow every such vicar sufficiently and his successors for ever, without any other licence or grant from the king, bishop, or other officers of the diocese, and with power to assign yearly pensions to the dean, governors, minister, and others, of any dissolved college, free chapel, chantry, etc.; and then follows a clause, vesting in the king all the goods, jewels, ornaments, etc., belonging to the same.

It will be seen, by the certificate next following, that the claims of the parish were recognized by the commissioners appointed under the above Act, and it may, therefore, be assumed as clear that the provisions under the Act of Henry

* Vol. iv. p. 296.

had not been fully performed, and that this was a case in which the enlarged powers conferred by the Act of Edward VI. ought to apply.

"Court of Augmentation—Certificate of Colleges, etc.
"No. 3, 2 Edward VI.—Berks.*

"The certificate of Sir John Mason, Knyght, Thomas Denton, Esquier, and Roger Amyer, gentleman, Commissioners appointed, among others, for the survey of colleges, chaunteries, ffree chappells, guildes, ffraternities, and such like, in the counties of Barks and Southamton, as well of all and singuler such colleges, chaunteries, ffree chappells, brotherhedds, ffraternities, guildes, and other things within the saide countie of Barks, w^ch^ oughte and be comen unto the Kings Ma^ties^ hands, by virtue of thacte of parliamente begon and holden at Westm^r^ the iiij^th^ daye of Novembr, in the firste yere of his Ma^ties^ reigne, as also the yerly values, condicions, state, and degree of the same, and ev^r^y of them according to the teno^r^, purporte, and effecte of his Highnes comission and instruccions unto us and others in that behalf directed, bering date at Westm^r^ the xiiij^th^ daye of Februarij, in the seconde yere of the reigne of our said Souerain Lorde Edwarde the vj^th^, by the grace of God King of England, France, and Irelande, defendo^r^ of the faithe, and in erthe supreme hed of the Churche of Englande and Irelande.

"Wallyngforde—One College of Saincte Nicholas, scituate w^t^in the Castell Wall ther.

"Founded † by Prince Edwarde, sonne of King Edward the thirde, to thentent that the Deane of the same College, toguyther w iiij. priestes, vj. clerks, and iij. choresters, shulde dayly singe divine seruice, and praye for his sowle, the sowles of his progenitors and posterite for ever. Is worthe by yere as particulerly apperith by a Survey therof made, clv^li^ xviij^s^ iiij^d^ ob., whereof in—

Goodes solde, given, or spoilid, sith the xxiij. daye of Nouemb^r^, anno xxxvij. Henry viij^th^.	none other than certaine lande in Uplamborne laide to morgage to S^r^ Willm Essex, Knight, by one Underhill, late Deane there.

* Public Record Office.

† The founder was Edmund, Earl of Cornwall; the Black Prince augmented the revenues.

Remaynyng there the viijth daye of Decembr laste paste in the custody of Thom^{s} Parry, Esquier, and R. Polyngton	xiiij^{li} xx^{d} over and besides iij. chalices and iij. masers, pois lvj. oz., and besides iij. bells in the tower ther not yeit praised.
Rentes Resolute	lviij^{s}
Tenth	xiiij^{li} xiij^{s} iij^{d} ob. q.
Proxes, indempnities, and sinodalls per annum	lxix^{s} iiij^{d}
Bredd, wine, and waxe, w^{t} renewing of ornaments and reparacion of the Colege	vj^{li} x^{s}
Obites yerly kepte w^{t}in the said Colege, and relief of poore people at the same	vj^{li} xvj^{s}
Fees, lyverys, and expense of the Stewarde and Receivor of the said lands, and ij. ffermors of the same ...	vj^{li}
Pencon yerly to one of the Priests of the said Colege, seruing the cure of All Hallowes w^{t}out the Castell Gate ...	xl
Reparacions of Saincte Johns Brige, in the countie of Gloucester, lxvj^{s} viij^{d}, and the scite of the manor of Horrell and the parsonage ther, xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d} ...	c^{s}
Rentes deteyned	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Rentes dimynished by the Deane in and oppon letting of leases	x^{li}
	lvij^{li} xv^{s} ij^{d} ob. q. and so
Remayneth to John Donne, Deane ther, and subdeane of the Kings Chappell, of thage of xliiij. yeres, a bachelor of Divinite, and having beside this towards his lyving lx^{li} in benefices.	xxxj^{li} ij^{s} j^{d} ob. q. cum lv^{s} de pensione exeunte Rectori de Harwell nondum defalcata.
To iiij. prests of the saide Colege, viz. to Richard Crane, of thage of lxxiiij. yeres, and being bedridd, vj^{li} xix^{s} x^{d}; Richard Fotherby, of thage of lij. yeres, unable to serue cure, vj^{li} xix^{s} x^{d}; William Donkeley, of thage of xxxviij. yeres, not able to serue cure, vj^{li} xix^{s}	

x^{d}; and to John Aysshedale, of thage of lj. yeres, not able to serue cure, vj^{li} xix^{s} x^{d} in toto p. ann. (besides w^{ch} they have nothing towards their Lyvings) xxvij^{li} xix^{s} iiij^{d}

To vj. conductes, viz. William Adeane, of thage of iiij^{xx}j. yeres, iiij^{li} xvij^{s} viij^{d}; John Adeane, of thage of xl. yeres, iiij^{li} xvij^{s} viij^{d}; Ric. Emley, organ player and teacher of the choristers, vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}; Robt^{e} Coxton, of thage of lviij. yeres, iiij^{li} xvij^{s} viij^{d}; John Barker, of thage of xxxvj., iiij^{li} xvij^{s} viij^{d}; and to Nicholas Skynner, of thage of xxviij. yeres, iiij^{li} xvij^{s} viij^{d}, in toto p. ann., w^{ch} is their only Lyvinges ... ... xxxj^{li} xx^{d}

And to iiij. chorusters ther, viz. Harry Draper, John Purden, Thomas Adeane, and Richarde Emley, jun^{r}, at xl^{s} le pece per annum ... ... viij^{li}

iiij^{xx}xviij^{li} iij^{s} j^{d} ob. q.

"Memor^{d}. Precher, Scolemaster, or poor releved w^{t}in the said Colege other than the prestes, the chorusters, and clerks aforesaid, none.

* * * * *

"A Vicar is to be endowed or a Preste muste be allowed to serve the cure of All Hallowes w^{t}oute the Castell gate, forasmoche as by impropriacion the Deane was both parson and Vicar, unles it shall stande w^{t} the kings Ma^{tes} pleasure to unite and annexe the same unto Saincte Maries or some other parishe w^{t}in the said towne, w^{t}in whiche parishe of All Hallows be of howsling people, lx.

"Debtes due by the saide College syth the viijth of Decembr last paste, before the date of the saide commission, none."

The following extracts are taken from documents in the Public Record Office:—

"Re All Hallowes, etc., Berks. Ministers' Accounts, 1 and 2 Edward vjth (No. 3). Lands and possessions belonging to the College of St. Nicholas within the Castle of Wallingford.

"Colopecote, parcell of the College of St. Nicholas abovesaid. Robert Southby, collector, accounts for 25*s.* 8*d.* (half

a year), for rent issuing from divers tenements and lands there due to the Lord the King at Michaelmas.

"Chalgrove, in the county of Oxford. And for 53*s.* 4*d.*, for a pension issuing from the rectory there, yearly due to the Lord the King for one year, ending at Michaelmas.

"Unpaid and charged for. Doctor Cockes, for money in his hands, retained for the rent as well of the scite of the College of St. Nicholas (23*s.* 4*d.*), as for the pension issuing from the rectory at Chalgrove, 53*s.* 4*d.*, behind and unpaid."

In the next account, 2 and 3 Edward VI., under Colopecote: "Is answered 51*s.* 4*d.* for one year's rent super, charged upon Dr. Coks, for the pension arising from the rectory of Chalgrove, by him retained by colour of letters patent of the Lord the King."

The duties of the commissioners were not confined to the college and chantry lands and other such real property. A commission was issued, empowering them to seize church plate and ornaments, which, under the last-mentioned Act, were also to be vested in the king. Collier * tells us the commissioners' business was to make seizure of *all* goods in cathedral or parish churches, and thus all jewels, and gold and silver crosses, candlesticks, chalices, and ready money were within their instructions; they were likewise empowered to carry off all copes of gold and silver tissue, and all other officiating habits and ornamental furniture of value. They were bound to leave no more than one chalice for the common service, and as for other conveniences and embellishments, they were entirely left at the commissioners' discretion. The discretion these commissioners had was not exercised with any great liberality towards the parish of All Saints, for, rigidly adhering to their instructions, it will be seen by the copy of the inventory next following, that of "all the goods, plate, jewels, bells, and ornaments," belonging to the church, scarcely anything was left besides one chalice, the old copes and vestments and stained linen, and "the greate olde chest."

"All Saynts, in Walyngforde. Church Goods, Berks, No. $\frac{1}{5}$.†

"Thys Inventorye indentid, made the vith daye of August, in the vj. yere of the reign of our Soveraign Lorde Kyng Edwarde the vj., betwene the Comyssyoners of o^{r} said Sove-

* Vol. v. p. 494. † 6 Edward VI.; Public Record Office.

raign Lorde for the vewe of all goods, plate, juells, bells, and ornaments to every churche and chapell within the countie of Berks belonging or in any wyse apperteignyng of the one partye, and Richard Emeley and John Phillypps, churchewardens of the paryshe and churche of All Saincts, in Walyngforde, in the said countie of the other partye;—Wyttenessyth that the said Comyssyoners have delyverid by theise presents to the said churchewardens, all these parcells hereafter perticulerly wrytten, viz. one chalice, sylver and percell gylte; two copes, one of grene satten of brydges,* the other of olde whyte sylke; two vestyments, the one of whyte satten of brydges, and thother of grene satten of brydges; one olde vestyment of dornex; one surplice; one old rochett; two stayned clothes of lynyn, som tyme for the sepulcre; one crosse, and a crosse staffe of latten; a Byble; two candlestycks of latten; one towell of dyaper, another towell playne; two corporases, w^t^ their clothes embrotherid w^t^ tassells of sylke; another of grene sylke; two bells, also two small bells callid sakering bells; a pyxe of latten; a greate olde chest and a coffer; two crewetts; two olde candlestycks of leade; one olde frunt, iiij^or^ olde alter clothes of lynyn, and iiij^or^ banner clothes of lynyn stayned. And all the aforesaid parcells saufly to be kepte and preserved, and the same and every parcell thereof to be fourthcomyng at all tymes hereafter when y^t^ shall be of them required. In wyteness wherof, as well the said Comyssyoners as also the said churchewardens, and every of them to this Inventorye have subscribed their names, the day and yere above written.

"By me, Richard Emley."

The site of the College of St. Nicholas was granted by the Crown, 2 Edward VI., to Michael Stanhope and John Bellew, and in the particular of sale there is a minute description of what remained of the college, referring to the orchard, garden, etc., and to certain galleries as then existing. No mention is made therein of All Saints. In the same year, 1548, it was purchased by the Dean and Canons of Christ Church, Oxford, as a place of retirement in times of sickness and visitation; and about four years afterwards the clerks' lodgings and other premises were leased to Thomas Parry,

* Bruges.

Esq., and to his wife, Dame Ann Fortescue, by the college, on condition of their quitting the entire possession of them, except one convenient chamber for themselves, on eight days' notice, in case of the plague or other destructive malady being at Oxford. It is probable, from what Camden says, that the students of Christ Church College resorted thither more as a place of recreation during the period of the occupation by the college, than as an asylum for the reception of patients suffering from infectious disorders.

It has been seen that the tithes of All Saints, and probably other revenues of the College of St. Nicholas, passed first to Wolsey, then, on his attainder, to Henry VIII., and afterwards to Edward VI.; but it cannot be said that, during the latter reign, the parish of All Saints secured any advantage beyond a recognition of its claims, which led to no substantial result. No "vicar was endowed, nor was a priest allowed to serve the cure," and the commissioners' certificate effected nothing but the more complete spoliation of the church. Nor is it difficult to understand the reason; avarice, venality, and irreligion seem to have been strangely in the ascendant. We are told that the nobility and gentry were insatiably covetous; that many of the judges were so corrupt that they would sell justice for money; while the clergy, from the bishops to the curates, were generally "very bad." According to Strype—and he is confirmed by Collier—the curates were both ignorant and scandalous for their ill lives, and many of them so intolerably bad, lazy, and wicked, that the parishioners oftentimes brought informations against them to the bishops of the dioceses, and also to the Council. Another evil in the clergy was that they took secular employments, and left their flocks without due care; and Collier tells us that the settlement of estates for the support of religion and the poor was ridiculed as a superstitious endowment, first miscalled, and then plundered. As a consequence, contention about religion followed; the vices of the age met with little restraint, and the payment of tithes was objected to on the ground that little or nothing was done to justify the impost. Such were the dissolute times of Edward VI., and it cannot be wondered at that the church of All Saints met with no relief. Not that the young and virtuous king showed any want of zeal for the maintenance

of religion. Nor was he responsible for a state of things no worse probably than in the former reign, though more notorious, and therefore apparently in the ascendant. The intrigues and evil and corrupt influences of those around him prevented the exercise, or neutralized the effect, of any attempt to restrain the scandalous vices of the age.

But let us pursue our inquiry as to the devolution of the tithes of All Saints.

In a grant of these tithes in the sixth year of Queen Elizabeth, and also in another grant to Pembroke College, in the twenty-second year of King James I., set out hereafter in order of date, they are described as "late parcel of the possessions of Reginald Pole, late cardinal, and before parcel of the possessions of Thomas Wolsey, late cardinal." It may be assumed that Wolsey became the owner in one of the ways before suggested, but it is not so easy to see, and searches have failed to discover, by what means Cardinal Pole became the possessor. Assuming that on Wolsey's attainder these tithes reverted to the Crown, the Act of Queen Mary, renouncing the appropriations, and vesting in the cardinal the first-fruits and tenths, offers the easiest solution. We may suppose that Wolsey possessed the tithes at about the time when Pole left England in 1527, at twenty-seven years of age. There is no ground for assuming that, during the short period that thus intervened between the completion of Pole's studies at Padua, and what may be called his expatriation, any transfer to him from Wolsey took place. Nor is it at all likely that he derived his title from the Crown, either at this time or afterwards, for although he enjoyed, as kinsman to the king, the royal favour, it was of short duration, and he was regarded as not altogether "a manageable person" with respect to a delicate affair (the question of divorce) upon which the king directed him to be sounded. This circumstance is said to have induced him to remain abroad, rather than to offend his royal kinsman and be exposed, it may be added, to the consequences that invariably followed any opposition to the tyrant's wishes. He continued in Italy for a long time, enjoying the especial favour of the pope, and it was here that he soon became the most violent and vindictive assailant of the king, in his endeavour to uphold the papal supremacy. The king's hostility towards Pole was equally determined, and attempts were made, by

persuasion and crafty means, to get him into the king's hands, but all to no purpose: Pole was too wise to "put his head between the jaws of the lion's mouth;" and he escaped the trap by remaining without the jurisdiction, but his plotting against the king continued.

The death of Henry VIII. once more excited his hopes, and he at once put himself in communication with the Privy Council of England as to the right of succession, offering his counsel, and dwelling on his own full powers to reconcile England to Rome. He was ignorant of the powerful reaction that had set in in favour of Protestantism, and his communication was treated with contempt. A like fate attended an address which he then presumed to make to the young king.

This glance at the life of Pole from the time he left England, shows pretty clearly that no royal favour was bestowed on him by Henry VIII. or his son. It is probable, therefore, that Pole derived his title to the tithes of Allhallows from the Crown, in the reign of Queen Mary. On the death of King Edward VI., in 1553, he was appointed, with a plenitude of power, Papal Ambassador to the Queen of England; but so opposed were her subjects to the papacy, that any open exercise of the ample powers entrusted to him was abandoned, and a secret correspondence with the queen, who gave him her cordial support, took place, which resulted after a time in Pole's return to England. He came, not as a legate, but as an English nobleman and a Roman cardinal, revisiting his native land after a long absence. His first act was an appeal to the generosity of his countrymen to restore to each despoiled church the property that had been taken from it, and the queen caused the Lords to be sounded as to the passing of an Act for the restoration of such property, and also such as, having formerly belonged to the monasteries, had been confiscated to the Crown, and had passed through the Crown into other hands. She soon found, however, says Strype, that, "her crown itself would not remain firm on her head if she persevered. A disturbance was caused within the very walls of Parliament, and noble lords clapped their hands upon their swords, declaring that so long as they were able to wear a sword by their side, with their abbey lands they would never part." Gardyner, who was then Lord Chancellor, and had been reinstated in his lost bishopric, suggested a con-

cession which satisfied the scruples of the queen and allayed the resentment of her people. The tenths and first-fruits of benefices had been attached to the Crown by Parliament in the reign of Henry VIII., to "enable that monarch to perform with dignity the newly created office of 'Supreme Head of the Church.'" This title was created before the Reformation, and had for a time been assumed by Queen Mary, but she soon renounced it, and did not, in consequence, require the additional income. A measure was, therefore, introduced into Parliament to restore that portion of the Church property, and was passed in December, 1556. By that Act, 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, the queen renounced all parsonages, impropriate tithes, glebe lands and other ecclesiastical livings, and it enacted that the payment of the first-fruits and tenths of spiritual livings, secured to the Crown by 26 Henry VIII., cap. 3, should cease, and that the same should be vested in Cardinal Reginald Pole, to be employed by him to godly uses. The queen was therefore able to satisfy her own conscience by devoting to religious purposes whatever income she received from abbey lands. The lay impropriators of Church estates in England were permitted to retain their possessions undisturbed, and their title thereto was confirmed by the Act of 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 8. This Act was passed in 1554, and recites that much false doctrine had been preached and written since 20 Henry VIII., and that Cardinal Pole had been sent from Rome to call the realm into the right way, from whence it had strayed. It repealed all Statutes made against the papal supremacy and see apostolic since that time, and restored to the pope all the authority, pre-eminence, and jurisdiction which he might have formerly exercised in virtue of his supremacy. It established the jurisdictions of bishops over all exempt churches and chapels in their respective dioceses. And then follows a confirmation of the title of all persons, to lands and goods of suppressed monasteries, chantries, colleges, etc., having a sufficient conveyance thereof.

On March 22, 1556, Pole was consecrated to the see of Canterbury by the Archbishop of York.

Under this state of things, it is easy to see that the cardinal might have possessed himself, "for godly uses," of these tithes; but the records at the public office appear defective. The list of advowsons and lands settled on the cardinal and the see

of Canterbury, by letters patent dated 5th November, 5 and 6 Philip and Mary (1558), comprises only advowsons in Kent; no mention is made of Berks, and it is stated in Strype * that of the several religious houses restored by Queen Mary, only one remains, namely, the Savoy.

Cardinal Pole sought to effect, by voluntary means, what he had failed to do by legislative enactment. He addressed the citizens of London and others, and urged them to restore the abbey lands to the Church spontaneously, and follow the example of their queen. His appeals on behalf of neglected parishes robbed of their tithes appear to have been earnest and frequent, and he particularly addressed himself to the aldermen and rich merchants of London, who had possessed themselves of much of the confiscated property, and entreated them to make a beginning, by repairing the parish churches, since many of these, spoiled of their revenues, had fallen into decay. What success attended his efforts is not recorded, but we shall see hereafter that an alderman of London was a munificent benefactor to this town, and that another of the class he addressed, bearing the same surname, afterwards conveyed the rectory and tithes of All Saints to Pembroke College, Oxford.

The cardinal died in November, 1558, a few hours after the death of Queen Mary.

In Queen Mary's reign, several penal Statutes touching religion were repealed, and among them 5 Richard II.; 2 Henry V.; 25, 31, 34, and 35 Henry VIII. The effect, or rather the object, of the repealing Act seems to have been to prohibit, under heavy penalties, all preaching without the queen's licence. Although we are told by Collier † that the queen promised not to alter religion nor force the consciences of her subjects, yet we know how awful was the persecution that took place in Mary's reign, on account of the free exercise of religious belief.

On the death of Queen Mary, the first act of her successor, Queen Elizabeth, was to pass a Statute to restore to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the estates ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolish all foreign powers repugnant to the same. This Act was the 1 Elizabeth, cap. 1, and just afterwards another Statute (cap. 4) effected the restitution of the first-fruits and tenths to the Crown, by repealing the Statute

* Vol. iii. pp. 122, 403. † Vol. iv. p. 12.

of Queen Mary, which had passed the Legislature about three years before; and all authorities and liberties granted thereby to Cardinal Pole were declared void, and the first-fruits and tenths were to be revived and annexed to the imperial crown, as the same were in the person of Queen Mary before the Act of Extinguishment. The Act of 1 Elizabeth, cap. 4, enacts that the queen, her heirs and successors, shall possess and enjoy for ever the advowsons, gifts, and patronages of all vicarages belonging or incident to any of the said rectories and parsonages impropriate, in the same degree as the same were in the person and possession of Queen Mary, anything done by the said late cardinal, or any grant or grants by letters patent made by the said late Queen Mary of the said advowsons and patronages, to any ecclesiastical or spiritual person or persons or any spiritual corporation, to the contrary notwithstanding.

In 1569, the queen published a proclamation, that she "conceived it her duty to take care that all estates under her rule should live in the faith and obedience of the Christain religion; that all the laws ordained for that end should be duly observed," and the frequentation of divine service in the ordinary churches enforced.

Some years afterwards, the Act of 35 Elizabeth, cap. 1 (1593), made refusal to attend the established worship, or the presence at that of the Dissenters (Roman Catholics principally), punishable by imprisonment, and unless atoned for by conformity within three months, by perpetual banishment, enforced by death if the offender should return. Other Statutes were also passed, but they seem to aim more at the protection of the clergy and laity from papal aggression, and have not so general an application as the Act last referred to. It is said that this Act lay dormant for some time, and it was passed, it will be observed, only nine years before the queen's death; but it cannot be said that no oppressive and cruel exercise of regal power took place. The queen retained the title of "Head of the Church," which had been assumed by her father, for a time, and then abandoned it, as "too big for any mortal;" and although the old penal Statutes against heresy had been repealed, the punishment of burning existed by the common law; and either under that law, or in virtue of the royal powers inherent in the queen as head of the Church, the barbarous punishment was inflicted.

Cruelty such as this was evidently exceptional in Elizabeth's reign, and it would have been strange indeed if it were not so, for her very acts of spoliating the Church encouraged the heresy for which so fearful a punishment was awarded. By depriving the Church of her revenues, as in the case of All Saints, she virtually shut the sacred portals, and then subjected the luckless recusant to imprisonment, to banishment, and possibly death, for not going in.

Collier draws an amusing parallel between Queen Elizabeth and her sister, remarking that the one made martyrs in the Church, and the other beggars; the one executed the men, and the other the estates; and therefore, reserving the honor of the Reformation to Queen Elizabeth, the question will be whether the resuming the first-fruits and tenths, putting many of the vicarages into this deplorable condition, and settling a perpetuity of poverty on the Church, was not much more prejudicial than fire and faggot.

The grant of the Clapcote tithes in this reign, next mentioned, shows that the vesting enactment of Elizabeth was not a dead letter; and the subsequent grant by the Crown, in the reign of James I., of the rectory of All Saints, with its tithes and profits, further shows that the rectory and tithes had at that time reverted to the Crown.

A.D. 1564. Grant* in perpetuity to Thomas Reve, William Ryvet, and William Hichins, of the tithes of Clapcote, within the parish of All Saints, "late parcel of the possessions of Reginald Pole, late cardinal; and before parcel of the possessions of Thomas Wolsey, late cardinal." The consideration money paid for the above and other hereditaments, including the tithes of Aston Thorrold and South Moreton, Berks, was £3967 15*s.* 7*d.*

A.D. 1589. Grant† to Walter Copinger and Thomas Butler, of the Free Chapel of St. Nicholas, with all lands, tithes, etc., thereto belonging, at the rent of 13*s.* 4*d.*

A.D. 1608. King James I., in consideration of the faithful and acceptable service by Thomas, Viscount Fenton, Captain of our Guard, and at his humble petition, granted‡ to Richard Lydall, Esq., and Edmund Bostocke, gentleman,

* Patent Roll, 6 Elizabeth, p. 3, m. 10.

† Ibid., 31 Elizabeth, p. 7.

‡ Ibid., 5 James I., p. 22, m. 20.

their heirs and assigns, *inter alia*, "the rectory and tithes of All Saints, in Wallingford. And all those two barnes called 'the parsonadge barnes,' with the garnett house and garden to the same annexed, late parcel of the possessions of the late College or Free Chapel of Saint Nicholas, within the Castle of Wallingford. And all that tenement called the Swanne, near Shillingford Bridge (this name is still retained), and all advowsons and right of patronage to the premises belonging. And all tithes of garb, corn, grain and hay, wool, flax, hemp, and lambs, and all other tithes whatsoever, as well great as small; also oblations, obventions, etc. To hold in free and common soccage, paying yearly to us, our heirs and successors, ten pounds." Dated 25th day of July.

It is not improbable that the church of All Saints, stripped of its revenues, and with no one apparently to serve the cure, may have fallen into disuse about this time, if not before. According to Symonds, it had been disused for about half a century prior to 1642, which is somewhat confirmatory of this view. There is also the fact that the state of things then and previously existing afforded no encouragement to the clergy of the adjoining benefices to labour out of their own districts. Their benefices had been greatly reduced also, by the alienation of a large portion of their revenues, and those in the town appear to have been too small to yield a competent provision for even one incumbent. Spoliation with no sparing hand had done its work alike to all.

The next recorded dealing with the rectory and tithes which I can find, was in the early part of the reign of Charles I., when, by a deed enrolled in Chancery, they were granted by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Sir John Bennett the elder, of London, Knight, to the Master, Fellows, and scholars of Pembroke College, in the University of Oxford, which had been founded in the previous reign, as appears by letters patent * dated 29th June, 22 James I., and in which it is recited that Thomas Tesdale, of Glympton, by his will made "last of May, 8 James I.," bequeathed £5000 for the sustaining of certain fellows and scholars at Oxford, and that certain lands, etc., in Wiltshire and Berkshire were purchased therewith, and vested in Sir Nicholas Kempe and William Baker in trust thereof.

* Patent Roll, 22 James I., p. 16, m. 2.

1626. Extracts from Grant, 2 Charles I.*

"This Indenture made the 16 May, 2nd Charles 1st, between George, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir John Bennett the Elder, of London, Knight, on thone parte, and the Master, Fellows, and schollers of Pembrock Colledge in the Universitie of Oxon, of the foundacion of the late Kinge James, at the costs and charges of Thomas Tesdale and Richard Wightwick, on thother parte; Witnesseth that for the nominal consideration of five shillings, the said Archbishop and Sir John Bennett, for the performance of the Trusts in certain other Indentures, dated 19th February, in the 22nd yeare of the said late King James, made between the parties to these presents, have granted, etc., unto the said Master, etc., of Pembrock Colledge and their successors for ever, all [certain property in Wiltshire]. And also all that Rectorie or Parsonage of All Saints, in Wallingford, in the County of Berks; and all and singuler tithes, profitts, frutts, and other commodities and advantages whatsoever to the said Rectory or Parsonage belonginge or apperteyninge. And alsoe two barnes, called the Parsonage barnes, with the Garnett house and Garden therunto annexed, togeather with free ingresse, etc., by the great gates thereof; which Rectorie was late parcell of the possessions of the Colledge or free Chappell of St. Nicholas, within the Castle of Wallingford. And all and singuler houses, glebe lands, advowsons, donacions, and rights of patronage of all Churches, Viccarages, Chappells, and Ecclesiastical benefices, etc., unto the said Parsonage and premisses belonging. And all those tithes of Corne and other tithes whatsoever, growing or renewinge in the Towne fields, parishes, or hamletts of Clapcott, within the Parishe of All Saints in Wallingford aforesaid, late parcell of the possessions of Reginald Poole, late Cardinall, and late parcell of the possessions of Thomas Wolsey, late Cardinall. And all that Messuage and two closes of land, called the Conygares, scituate in or neere a Street called Castle Streete, in Wallingford aforesaid. . . .

"To hold the said premises unto the said Master, Fellowes and schollers of Pembrock Colledge and theire Successors for

* Close Roll, 2 Charles I., No. 2647.

ever, nevertheles upon the only trusts and purposes in the said other Indenture expressed.

"In witness, etc."

Acknowledged in Chancery by the Archbishop and Sir John Bennett.

No enrolment of the other deed referred to, as of like date, has been found.

I have failed in the attempt to trace the title of the grantors to the rectory and tithes conveyed by the above deed. In the first year of James I., cap. 3, a Statute was passed to prevent the clergy from impoverishing the Church, and for disabling the Crown from receiving any conveyance of the estates of archbishops and bishops. It may, therefore, have been considered that the concurrence of the archbishop was necessary by way of confirmation, the beneficial interest being in the other grantor, Sir John Bennett, whose family appears to have been resident at Clapcote. Whether the grant was an act of munificence, or made subject to certain conditions in favour of the parish, does not appear; nor is it shown what relationship existed between him and Sir Thomas Bennett, alderman of London, who, about fifty-five years after Pole's death, was a munificent benefactor to the town. The last named was third son of Thomas Bennett, Esq., of Clapcot, and was Lord Mayor of London in 1603.* His father was buried in Allhallows churchyard, where a plain stone slab marked the spot for many years, and till lately remained there in a very dilapidated condition; by its side a handsome stone monument was erected in 1839, by the Trustees of the Public Charities of the town, out of the charity funds, as directed by the founder. This stone is mentioned by Ashmole; and Hearne, referring to it, says, "one of the inhabitants of the town, partly out of principle of religion, and partly out of love to antiquity, lately took care to preserve that which formerly lay in the church. This church, it appears, was quite demolished in the late rebellion, and there is nothing now left of it but the said stone, which lies in the cemetery of the church, that is now a backside to the Lamb inn; it is raised, says Ashmole, above the ground by the pious contrivance of the before-mentioned person, and at the west end of it he

* City Records, Guildhall; Stowe's "Survey of London."

hath caused the following inscription to be put:—'This is the monument of Thomas Bennett, of Clapcote, Esquire, who had issue Thomas Bennett, Knight, citizen and alderman of London, his third son, who gave twenty pounds yearly for ever to fifteen poor people of this town of Wallingford.'" There is no date to be traced on this tombstone. The inscription on the new monument is as follows:—"In compliance with the directions of Sir Thomas Bennett, Knight, citizen and alderman of London, the Trustees of the Wallingford charities, to which town he left an annual sum of twenty pounds, now considerably augmented, repaired and beautified this monument to the memory of his father, Thomas Bennett, Esquire, of Clapcot, in the year 1839."

The charitable grant is dated 17th January, 1616, and after reciting that he (Sir Thomas Bennett), being incited to works of charity, and being desirous to leave some memorial of his thankfulness, to be continued for ever towards the relieving and maintenance of the poor of the borough of Wallingford, being near unto the place where he was born, the said Sir Thomas Bennett conveys the rectory and church of Kirton, and the advowson and other hereditaments in the county of Lincoln, upon certain trusts, and out of the rents to apply the sum of £20 amongst fifteen poor and aged men and women of the borough, as already mentioned under the head "Public Charities."

It is stated in the above deed that the tomb to the memory of his father, was "new re-edifyed" by him in 1614.* In the list of Sheriffs of London, under date 1613, appears the name of "Thomas Bennet." It will be observed by the "Memorandum" appended to the certificate of the commissioners, *ante, temp.* Edward VI., that a vicar was "to be endowed or a priest must be allowed to serve the cure of All Hallows without the Castle gate." The commissioners had ample powers conferred on them, by the Statute of 1 Edward VI., cap. 14, to ordain a vicarage in perpetuity and endow it. Sec. 11 particularly refers to "every Parish Church appropriated, annexed, or united to a College, Free Chapel, or Chantry;" yet, so far as I have been able to ascertain, nothing further was done till the time of the Commonwealth,† when several

* Allen's "London," p 263

† Cromwell's Acts, vol. i. p. 116, and *seq.*

ordinances relating to ecclesiastical matters were passed, which may be readily seen at the Guildhall Library in the city of London. One was for the sale of rectories impropriate and glebe lands, late belonging to archbishops and others. Another, dated 9th December, 1646, for abolishing archbishops and bishops, and settling their lands. A third for "finishing the sales of deans' and dean and chapters' lands, rectories," etc.; and a fourth, dated 2nd September, 1654, for better maintenance of preaching ministers, and for uniting parishes. It does not appear that the two first-mentioned ordinances received the confirmation of the "Peoples' Parliament," but at the Parliament at Westminster, begun 17th September, 1656, various ordinances by Cromwell and his Council, which had passed without the consent of the people in Parliament, were ratified and confirmed, and among them the two last-mentioned ordinances, one of which empowered certain commissioners "to inquire touching the yearly value of ecclesiastical livings and benefices without cure of souls, and who receives the profits and is patron thereof," and, subject to the approbation of his Highness and his Council, to unite two or more parishes into one; and it enacts that the whole ecclesiastical revenues, tithes, etc., belonging to the parishes so united, shall be "supplied to one godly and painfull minister to preach in such of the said parish churches, when such union shall be made, as the trustees shall judge most convenient;" and then, after prescribing the mode of enrolment, follows a direction that all the said inhabitants living within the precincts of the said united parishes, shall, from and after such enrolment, pay unto the minister of the said united parishes all tithes, duties, and profits which were before payable to incumbents or curates.

Acting under these ordinances, the trustees for the maintenance of ministers, by an instrument that appears to be dated in May, 1656,* in pursuance of an order of his Highness and his Council, ordered that the parishes of St. Peter, Allhallows, Nicholas, and Leonard's, with the chapel of Sotwell, situate near Wallingford, in the county of Berks, should be thenceforth united to the said parish of St. Maries, with the approbation of his Highness, by instrument in writing, to be deemed one district and entire parish, and thenceforth stand endowed with all houses, glebe lands, tithes, and benefits

* Public Record Office.

whatsoever, belonging to the said parish churches and benefices of Peter's, Allhallows, Nicholas', and Leonard's, with the chapel of Sotwell and Crowmarsh Gifford, to be held and enjoyed by the Incumbent of St. Maries aforesaid, for his better maintenance.

Subsequently litigation arose, and in Hilary term, 1658, the following decree was made by the Court of Exchequer.* Before the Right Honorable Thomas Widdrington, Knight, Lord Chief Baron; Robert Nicholas, John Parker, and Roger Hill, Barons. Thomas Pinkney, clerk, exhibited his bill in Michaelmas term, 1657, against John Keate. Plaintiff was presented to the rectory of St. Maries, in Wallingford, in the county of Berks. The decree then recites the order for uniting the parishes, and endowing that of St. Maries as above set out, referring to the order as having been made in pursuance of an order of "his *late* Highness, and his Council, confirmed by Act of Parliament," and proceeds—

"It is ordered by the court that the said defendant shall satisfy and pay unto the said plaintiff the value of the said tythes, for the said year 1657, according to the value set forth in the said defendant's answer, and shall for the future continue the payment of tythes arising in Crowmersh Gifford."

It will be observed that Crowmarsh Gifford is not one of the united parishes, although it appears by the order that the tithes arising therein were to be held and enjoyed by the Incumbent of St. Mary's. There is nothing in the decree to explain this, nor to show that the spiritual care of the parish devolved on the incumbent. The parish is divided from the town by the river Thames, and is situate in the adjoining county of Oxford, yet its connection with the Castle dates from an early period. During the civil war between King Stephen and the Empress Maud, there was a fortress there at a place called Barbican, opposite the Castle. The site is still known as Barbican Close, on the north of the turnpike road. It was at this spot that vigorous measures were taken by the king to reduce the Castle, the particulars of which have been already given.

In the time of Edward II., there was a hospital at Crowmarsh for lepers, in connection, as it would seem, with the town. In a grant among the records of the corporation of

* Pinkney *v.* Keate (Lib. Dec.) fol. 67.

Wallingford, 2 Edward II., the grantee is described as "Miles, Warden of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen of Crowmarsh."

It is strange that the act of attempted justice to the parish of All Saints, though somewhat tardy, should have emanated at all from one who belonged to the sect of the Independents, was opposed to Episcopacy, and whose general public conduct exhibits a continued violation of the principle on which he seems to have acted in this and other such cases. We are told that he was "familiar and easy with the pretended saints of all denominations; he talked spiritually to them, he sighed, he wept, he canted, he prayed." Nevertheless, in fairness it must be added, the maintenance of a National Church freed from the prelacy favoured his views, and this circumstance, coupled with his acknowledged Protestant zeal, may account, to a great extent, for the measures he took. However, as regards the despoiled parishes, in whatever light we regard his acts, he succeeded in removing, whilst his power lasted, an abuse with which neither those who preceded him nor those who have followed him have attempted effectually to grapple.

The usurper died on the 3rd of September, 1658, which, according to the then style of legal computation, would be prior to the date of the decree; both the legal and ecclesiastical year in England beginning on the 25th of March, at that time and until the year 1752. Consequently the decree, though based upon the Acts of Cromwell and his Parliament, was in fact made during the protectorship of his son Richard, who was proclaimed his successor. Intrigues, the military cabal of Wallingford House, and a spirit of dissatisfaction followed, which soon found vent in overthrowing the protectoral office, and the authority of Richard Cromwell terminated, on a willing declaration from him that he considered himself no longer protector. The restoration of the king and the old English constitution followed in the year 1660.

A judicial decree at such an unsettled time, and under such circumstances as those which followed the death of Cromwell, can hardly be regarded as having a binding legal effect, or of sufficient weight to be recognized in the present day; even at that time, no further action appears to have been taken, although, according to Hume,* "all the chief

* Vol. v. p. 383.

offices of Cromwell in the Courts of Judicature were filled with men of integrity. Amidst the virulence of faction, the decrees of the judges were upright and impartial."

But a more solid reason for the non-acceptance of the decree, at a later date, arose from the Statute of 13 and 14 Car. II., cap. 25, extended by 7 Anne, cap. 18, under which advowsons impropriate, rectories, tithes, etc., usurped by the Long Parliament, were restored to their rightful owners, and certain Acts, therein referred to, were declared null and void.

In this reign of Charles II., the law enacted by Queen Mary for the suppression of liberty of conscience was confirmed and extended. The Act of 16 Car. II., cap. 4 (1664), subjected every one attending any worship but that established, where more than five were present, on the third offence, to transportation for seven years. And it is stated in the "History of the Revolution in England, 1688," in reference to this Act, that almost every officer, civil or military, was empowered and encouraged to disperse the congregations as unlawful assemblies, and to arrest the ringleaders.

Still, notwithstanding these, and the other enactments that were passed for enforcing worship in the parish church, and for putting down dissent, which was treated as rebellion; notwithstanding the rigid statutory provisions for upholding vicarages, and preventing improper appropriations, and the express recognition of the rights of the parish of All Saints by legal authority and judicial decision; yet the parish was left entirely destitute of spiritual ministrations, the obligation on the impropriate rector was never performed, and the tithes great and small, with some portion of the tithe arising in the adjoining parish of St. Mary, have been, since 1626, in the possession of Pembroke College, without interruption, save only such slight disquietude as may have arisen from the occasional and feeble expressions of resentment from the wronged and discontented parishioners. But do not let me be understood as reflecting on Pembroke College, particularly the Master and others, with whom I have been in more immediate communication. Those gentlemen have invariably evinced a ready sympathy, and have shown a desire to repair the wrong, the existence of which they freely admitted. Moreover, it is the possession of the small tithes that appears to carry with it the legal liability of which I

have been speaking; and if these small tithes belonged, as I am informed, to the Dean and Canons of Windsor, whose interest the Master and Fellows of Pembroke College purchased some years ago, the grievance of which the parish has had to complain has been occasioned by the default of the former body, and not of Pembroke College. It is fair, however, to state that the deed of confirmation of the tithe apportionment, dated the 28th of April, 1841, recites that the lands out of which the tithes originally issued are not well defined, and, by mutual agreement between the parties, certain specified lands are to be considered as chargeable with a tithe-rent charge of £284 10*s.* to Pembroke College, and a rent charge of £45 10*s.* to the Dean and Canons of Windsor.

I have failed to ascertain in what way the dean and canons became possessed of their portion. If the sum at which the tithes were commuted in their favour represents only the vicarial tithes, it may be contended that the grant made by Pembroke College, referred to in the introductory remarks, is not sufficient; but there is no evidence within our reach to show this, or how they acquired a title; and all efforts having failed to obtain a larger grant, it was deemed advisable to effect an amicable arrangement on the terms mentioned.

The entire revenues of the suppressed colleges were vested in the Crown, and, as shown before, the tithes of All-hallows formed part of such revenues in the case of St. Nicholas' College. May it not, therefore, be fairly assumed that the dean and canons derived their title to the vicarial tithes of Henry VIII.? and is it not within the bounds of probability that this little royal possession might have passed to them, with the other devised property, under the will of which the following is an extract, for keeping up yearly the four solemn obits directed to be observed within the College of Windsor, and towards the maintenance and clothing in white and red of the thirteen poor knights, and the other purposes therein mentioned?—

Extract from the Will of King Henry VIII.

"In the name of God and of the glorious and blessed Virgin our Lady Saint Mary, and of, etc.;—We, Henry, etc.

* * * * *

"And we will that, with as convenient speed as may be done after our departure out of this world, if it be not done in our life, that the Dean and Canons of our Free Chapel of Saint George, within our Castle of Windsor, shall have manors, lands, tenements, and spiritual promotion to the yearly value of £600, over all charges made sure to them, and to their successors for ever, upon these conditions hereafter ensuing, and for the due accomplishment and full performance of all other things contained with the same in the form of an indenture signed with our hand, which shall be passed by way of covenant for that purpose between the said dean and canons and our executors (if it pass not between us and the said dean and canons in our life); that is to say, the said dean and canons shall find two priests to say masses at the altar to be made where we have before appointed our tomb to be made and stand. And also after our decease keep yearly four solemn obits for us within the said College of Windsor, and at every of the said obits to cause a solemn sermon to be made, and also at every of the said obits to give to the poor people in alms, ten pounds; and also to give for ever yearly to thirteen poor men, which shall be called poor knights, to every of them twelve pence a day, and once in the year, yearly for ever, a long gown of white cloth with the garter upon the breast, embroidered with a shield and cross of St. George within the garter, and a mantle of red cloth, and to such one of the said thirteen poor knights as shall be appointed to be head and governor over them, £3 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly for ever, over and beside the twelve pence by the day. And also to cause every Sunday in the year for ever a sermon to be made at Windsor aforesaid, as in the said indenture and covenant shall be more fully and particularly expressed, willing, charging, and requiring our son, Prince Edward, all our executors and counsellors which shall be named hereafter, and all other our heirs and successors which shall be kings of this realm, as they will answer before God Almighty at the dreadful day of judgment, that they and every of them do see that the said indenture and assurance to be made between us and the said dean and canons, or between them and our executors, and all things therein contained may be duly put in execution and observed and kept for ever perpetually, according to this our last will and testament."

Considering the way in which tithes and other confiscated property were shifted about and dealt with by one and another, the above theory appears to be quite admissible. But after all, it may be that the unscrupulous Dean of St. Nicholas', Dr. London, who held preferment at Windsor, and was installed Canon of Windsor, 30th September, 1540, made a clean sweep of it, and transferred, under some colourable pretext, this portion of the tithes from one college to the other. Or did the dean and chapter give a valuable consideration for a defective title to their little holding? We can only speculate on all this. But as an illustration of the shifting about referred to, and the uncertainty of tenure in those times, even under Legislative sanction, we have only to refer to the preceding remarks with respect to the first-fruits and tenths of benefices. Originally that property was a papal usurpation. By the Statute of 26 Henry VIII., cap. 3, it was taken from the pope, and attached to the Crown to enable the king to perform with dignity his office of "Supreme Head of the Church." By the Statute of Queen Mary, it was restored to the Church, and vested in Cardinal Pole "for pious uses." The principle that dictated this application does not seem to have been exactly inherited by her sister, for immediately after Queen Mary's death, and within about three years after the Act had passed, this Statute was repealed by 1 Elizabeth, cap. 4, and the tenths again became a possession of the Crown, "for the maintenance of the estate and succession thereof." And next we have the Act of 2 Anne, cap. 11, by which they were a second time restored to the Church, and settled on a corporation for the perpetual augmentation of small benefices. This trust is now—and let us hope may continue for ages to come to be—faithfully administered by the "Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty," in alleviating the pressing necessities of the poorer clergy, and supplying a want that seems to increase year by year, notwithstanding the large amount of property vested in them, which, at the end of the year 1874, exceeded £3,475,000 in value.

No conclusive evidence exists to show in what year the church of All Saints was destroyed. Captain Symonds, who visited Wallingford in 1644, states that it was pulled down by the inhabitants the year before, having been disused

for nearly half a century. That it was destroyed during the civil war, which raged in Wallingford and its neighbourhood from 1641 to 1647, there can be no doubt; and, situated as it was in close proximity to the Castle walls, it is not likely to have escaped the fury of the belligerents, and probably was one of their first objects of attack, particularly if it were in a state of decay, as implied. We have it recorded that the church of St. Peter, near the river, was laid in ruins during this fierce contention, while that of St. Leonard, on the south of the town, after having been converted into barracks for the soldiers, partially shared the same fate; and to this day the effects of fire on some parts of the internal stonework may be discerned. All Saints, although without a church, retained the use of its graveyard, burials having taken place in it up to the year 1858, when it was closed under legislative enactment, with other ancient burial-grounds in the town.

CHAPTER IX.

CHURCHES.

Leland, in his "Itinerary" (Berks, p. 401), says, that it appeared by the donations and patents of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall,* that there were anciently fourteen parish churches in Wallingford, and that in his time there were men yet alive who could show the places where they stood, although there were then but "three poor parish churches in the town." It must be observed that in the inquisition taken after the death of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, in 1271, only three churches are mentioned —All Saints, St. Peter's, and St. Michael's; the taxation of Pope Nicholas, taken a few years after the date of the inquisition, in the reign of King Edward I., omits St. Michael's, and mentions in addition the churches of the Holy Trinity, St. Mary-the-Great or the-More, St. Mary-the-Less, St. Martin, and the united churches of St. Leonard and St. Lucien. In the year 1374 (Edward III.), the churches of St. Mary-the-Less, St. Michael, and St. Peter were united by the king's patent, "on account of the poverty of all three:" the church of the Holy Trinity was the conventual church of the Benedictine Monks. A record of the year 1452 mentions the united parish of St. Peter and St. John.

Camden differs from Leland as to the number of churches, and mentions twelve only, referring, perhaps, to the time of Richard I., when it is recorded "there be twelve Paroche Chirchis" in Wallingford; or he might, in computing the number, have excluded the churches of St. Lucien and St. John, which, although within the borough, were outside the walls.

* He was Lord of the Honor of Wallingford.

It is evident that Leland, in making out the number of churches to be fourteen, included the three churches belonging to the religious foundations, which were situated in parishes bearing their names, and also that of St. Nicholas in the Castle, not locally situated within the borough.

Recent searches in the Record Office, and an inspection of the muniments belonging to the corporation, have removed the doubt that existed as to the exact number of churches, and, with one exception, whether they were parochial or otherwise.

It appears clear that, in the time of Henry II., there were eleven parish churches in Wallingford. In the Patent Roll, 17 Henry VI., p. 2, m. 11, the charters granted to the town by Henry II. and Henry III. are mentioned in the inquisition taken in the sixteenth year of Henry VI., and it is recited that "at that time (Henry II.), in the same town, there were eleven parishes well and sufficiently built and inhabited, with one parish church in each of them, well constructed, and with chaplains and clerks daily officiating."

It further appears, by the same inquisition, that at the date of it (1439), there were "only four parishes inhabited, nor more than four churches sustained and beneficed."

We have here, then, authentic evidence of the existence of eleven parish churches, *temp.* Henry II., and of their reduction to four, *temp.* Henry VI.

The grants of property still preserved in the corporation chest, expressly refer to the under-mentioned seven parishes and four parish churches.

The parish of the Holy Trinity.

The parish of St. John. This must have been St. John the Baptist, as the grant mentions the pond of the Hospital of St. John in connection therewith.

The parish of St. Lucien. This is described to be in Wallingford, opposite the corn-market, and to extend up to "Mill Ditch." It was united to St. Leonard's, and doubtless comprised the southward part of the parish between the "Mill Ditch" and the brook at Winterbrook, which forms the borough boundary. It is probable the whole area between these points was once thickly populated, and the extension of streets and houses on this and other sides of the town within the borough limit, may suggest an answer

to those who have considered the area of the borough too circumscribed to contain a large population.

The parish of St. Mary-the-Less, in another grant described as the lesser church of St. Mary.

The parish of St. Martin.

The parish of St. Michael.

The parish of St. Ruald, afterwards called St. Rumbold.

Other grants, without expressly mentioning the parishes, refer to the churches of St. Leonard, St. Michael, and St. John, and to the churchyard and Chaplain of St. Martin's.

Add to these the still existing parishes of St. Mary-the-More, St. Peter, and Allhallows, and the churches of St. John-super-Aquam, and St. Peter-in-the-West, with the chapel of St. Nicholas, which was erroneously called a parish in Cromwell's time, and we get the full number of fourteen.

Most of the grants above referred to are dated in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., were witnessed by the mayor and others in authority, and, as the custom was, were deposited with the town authorities for safe custody. A room, with a chair and table and two or three pieces of crockery, were all the domestic articles many of the inhabitants had in those days, and if they possessed a box, and deposited their valuables in it, both box and contents would probably soon have been stolen; hence the authorities were made the custodians of these muniments of title.

In a release, dated 30 and 31 Henry VI. (1452), to Edmund Rede, before mentioned, the property conveyed is described to be situated "in the parish of St. Peter and John in Wallingford, between the king's way, called Temestrete, on the west, and the river of Thames on the east, extending from Seint Jonys-ditch, to the garden of the said Edmund on the north."

The fourteen churches above enumerated may be classed as follows:—

1. Holy Trinity		Belonging to religious foundations.
2. St. John the Baptist		
3. St. Lucien		
4. St. Nicholas in the Castle		
5. St. Mary-the-More or Major	Now existing.	Parochial.
6. St. Peter		
7. St. Leonard		

8. Allhallows, destroyed in the civil wars between Charles and his Parliament	Parochial.
9. St. Mary-the-Minor, united to St. Peter in 1374	
10. St. John-super-Aquam, united to St. Peter in 1452	
11. St. Martin	
12. St. Michael, united to St. Peter in 1374	
13. St. Ruald or Rumbold	
14. St. Peter-in-the-West, probably parochial.	

The diminution in the number of churches took place after the Great Plague in the reign of Edward III., A.D. 1343, by which the town was greatly impoverished, many of the houses left desolate, and "only four parishes inhabited."

This appears from the following extract from the inquisition above mentioned:—

"And further that many Burgesses, or Inhabitants, of the aforesaid town, on account of the grave and heavy charges which to them, by divers misfortunes, arose, retired from the said town; and certain of them, by pestilence and epidemic, being so reduced, and their houses and buildings desolated, have departed from the said town, with their wives and children. . . .

"On account of the poverty aforesaid, in the said borough, there are only four parishes inhabited, nor more churches sustained and beneficed."

Although out of the fourteen churches enumerated, no less than ten of them fell into disuse owing to this great calamity, it will be hardly correct to assume that there was anything more than a temporary cessation of parochial work, because there is a fairly regular record of institutions to several of the churches up to a much later period than 1343.

The earlier records show induction in seven of the churches as under—

St. Leonard	from	1299	to 1363
St. Mary-the-More	„	1312	„ 1386
St. Peter	„	1320	„ 1386
St. Mary-the-Less, united, with St. Michael, to St. Peter in 1374	„	1349	„ 1374

St. Martin	...	...	...	from	1298	to	1386
St. Michael	...	...	...	„	1330	„	1348
St. Rumbold	...	...	...	„	1342	„	1352

Allhallows has been before referred to, and the churches of the Holy Trinity, St. John the Baptist, St. Lucien, and St. Nicholas in the Castle, belonged to religious foundations, which were not suppressed before the reign of Henry VIII.

Doubtless the town suffered fearfully by the mortality consequent on the plague, had many of its houses, if not streets, destroyed by fire, and the number of the inhabitants considerably reduced; but that it continued for any length of time in the impoverished condition described seems improbable. It was a garrison town, and the Castle, although it had lost its character as a royal residence, was kept up in great strength; consequently the loss in numbers occasioned by the plague must have been to some extent made up by continued military occupation. Moreover, the muniments of the corporation, particularly the rolls of the Court of Record, the lists of amercements for breaking the assize of sundry commodities (in which beer holds a conspicuous position), and the classification of trades in the guild rolls, evidence a somewhat large population. These circumstances tend to show that there was no lack of work for the clergy, and in the parish of All Saints, which adjoined the Castle precincts on the north and west, the claims for parochial duty must have been strong.

Captain Symonds, who visited Wallingford in 1644, states that the three churches then in use were St. Mary, St. Peter, and St. Leonard; and in the minute-book of the corporation, under date 1650, in the mayoralty of Mr. William Cooke, it is recorded, "the three parishes were united into one parish." Browne Willis, in his "Notitia Parliamentaria," which was published in 1716, states, "And as for its churches, it still retains the names of four—St. Mary, St. Peter, St. Leonard, and All Saints, though only the first is in constant use, the two last being entirely demolished in the great rebellion, and but a little part of St. Peter's being now left standing."

It is probable the churches intended to be referred to as having been entirely demolished were those of St. Peter and Allhallows. St. Leonard's, as appears hereafter, was only partially destroyed.

More detailed information follows respecting the several churches and religious foundations.

First, as to the four religious houses.

Holy Trinity.

This, as previously stated, was the conventual church of the Benedictine Monks, or, as Leland calls it, "a priory of Black Monks; a cell of St. Albans, suppressed by Thomas Wolsey, cardinal." No mention is made of its situation, but there can be no doubt that it adjoined, probably formed part of, the structure of the priory, which stood not far from the west gate, on the north side of High Street. Dugdale, in his "Monasticon Anglicanum," tom. iii. p. 278; Newcombe, in his "History of St. Alban's Abbey," p. 495; and Clutterbuck, in his "History of Hertfordshire," vol. i. p. 38, agree in ascribing the foundation of this priory to Robert d'Oyley, the Norman chief, who came in the time of the Conqueror. He endowed it with certain lands and dedicated the church to the Holy Trinity.

At the time when the endowment was made, the abbey of St. Albans had possessions in Wallingford, amounting in value to thirty shillings per annum, which, perhaps, first gave rise to the subsequent connection between the abbey and the priory.*

It is stated in Chaucy's "St. Albans," that Richard, who was chosen abbot, A.D. 1097, persuaded King Henry I. to grant (*inter alia*) "30*s.* worth of land in this town of Warengeford, to the abbey of St. Albans." According to Dugdale, † "lands to the value of 30*s.* per annum at Waryngforth, together with ten hides of land, and the church of West Henreth (Hendred), were given to the monks of St. Albans, by Nigellus d'Aubigney," for the enlarging of the foundation, without the west part of the church and gates of the priory.

The same king, Henry I., by his charter, dated at Westminster, granted and confirmed to God and the church of St. Albans, all their cells at the eight places therein named, "Walyngford" being one of them, together with the town of St. Albans, with its market and liberty; the town of Watford, with the market, and various other places, including Rick-

* Newcombe. † Vol. vi. pt. 2, p. 327.

mansworth, with the charters and other things belonging to them.

A similar charter grant and confirmation of Wallingford, and all their other cells, with the lands and possessions, was made to the abbey by King Henry II. Under the heading of "St. Albans Abbey," Dugdale mentions that in the days of Paul, the fourteenth Abbot of St. Albans, there were added to St. Albans Abbey (*inter alia*) the church of the Holy Trinity in Wallingford, half of the rights of the church of St. Mary in the same place, and half a hide of land (sixty acres) without the same city. This addition to the revenues of St. Albans is also ascribed to Robert d'Oyley, to whom the Conqueror had given a large tract of country in the north of Oxfordshire, together with the town and city of Oxford, and the Castle of Wallingford.

Tanner, in his "Notitia Monastica," xxiii., adds, "Wallingford, olim Warengford, and corruptly Waring. The church of the Holy Trinity within the west gate here, being given *temp.* William the Conqueror to the abbey of St. Albans by Galfridus Camerarius, Paul, the fourteenth abbot, sent hither a convent of their Black Monks, who, with the prior, were subordinate to that great monastery."

Matthew Paris, also, and the catalogue of benefactors to St. Albans, in the Cotton MS., Nero D. VII., speak of Geoffrey the chamberlain as the person who gave the church of the Holy Trinity to the abbey.

Richard II. further endowed this priory with the rectory and church of Garsington, in the county of Oxford. This appears by a copy of the original grant in the "Monasticon;" and King Henry VII. confirmed to it an annual sum of £8 to be paid by the town of Wallingford out of the fee farm rents; and he also confirmed the title of the prior to the advowson of the church of Chinnor, in the same county, to which the prior had asserted a claim as far back as the reign of Edward I.

The monks of this priory were bound by their vow to live in the observance of the most rigid chastity, to have no possessions of their own, and to pay obedience to their superior. Their dress was a long black tunic, or close gown, reaching to the ground, it was loose and ungirded round their loins, differing in that respect from other monks. Under

this tunic they wore a white woollen waistcoat and a hair shirt. Their heads were shaved all over, except a few hairs left in a circle on the crown. A large cowl or hood hung down over their shoulders, which served as a covering for the head in wet weather. At other times they went bare-headed. In their diet they were compelled to abstain from all flesh except in the case of sickness.

In the calendar of charters and rolls preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, edited by Mr. W. H. Turner, under the direction of the Rev. H. O. Coxe, M.A., the librarian, there are no less than one hundred and sixty-two charters, relating principally to this priory. They are chiefly grants and confirmations of lands, and it would seem, from a letter from Thomas Cromwell to Cardinal Wolsey, dated 2nd April, 1528,* that the preservation of these "evidences" was due to the vigilance of Cromwell in transmitting them from Wallingford to Oxford at a time when the priory seems to have been stripped of nearly all its contents.

Some of the more interesting are referred to hereafter.

A charter of King Henry I., a photograph of which has been kindly sent to me by Mr. Turner. This is, perhaps, the earliest document extant relating to a grant of land to this priory. The reference to Geoffrey the chamberlain may help to clear away the doubt that exists as to his connection with the cell. The following is a copy :—

"Henricus † rex Angliæ Hugoni de Bochelanda Salutem. Precipio tibi ut facias haberi juste monachis ecclesie S. Trinitatis de Warengefort decimam eorum de Mullforda et de terra Henrici Larderarii, ita bene et honore sicut umquam melius habuerunt et tenuerunt tempore Regis Willielmi fratris mei, et sicut in die qua Goiffridus camerarius dissaisitus fuit de terra illa et sicut . . . prae-[c]epi per aliud breve meum ita ne inde quicquam perdant pro penuria recti nec amplius inde . . . audiam. Teste Ranulpho Cancellario apud Norhamtoniam."

[Translation.]

"Henry, King of England, to Hugh de Bocheland, greeting ;—I enjoin that you cause complete possession to be given

* Ellis, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 138. (See p. 351.)

† "Calendar," Preface, p. vii.

to the Monks of the Church of Holy Trinity of Warengeford of their tithe of Mulford,* and of the land of Henry the larderer, with such benefit and advantage as they ever had and held withal to their greater profit in the time of King William † my brother, and as on the day on which Geoffrey the chamberlain was disseized of that land, and as I have directed by another my brief, so that they may not henceforth lose aught, by reason of want of title, and that I may not hear more of it. . . . Witness, Ranulph, Chancellor, at Northampton."

Translation of a grant to the church of Holy Trinity of a meadow at Clapcote.‡ Henry II., 1180 :—

"Alan, son of Amfrid son of Ruald, to all faithful persons, greeting;—Be it known to your whole community (*universitati*) that I have granted, and by this present deed confirmed, to the church of Holy Trinity, in Wallingford, and to the monks therein serving God, the meadow of mine, which was my father's, in Clopcote, which lies on the east side of the Castle, before the postern gate of the same Castle. This gift I have made to the afore-mentioned monks in alms gift perpetual, for the soul of my father and my mother, and for the soul of myself and my brother Rolland, and for the souls of all my progenitors. Witness hereunto, Alan son of Roger of Whitcherche, Alan son of Rolland, Andrew son of Peter, Master Richard kinsman of the prior, Robert Marshall, Radulph kinsman of Abbot Warin."

Deed of Joseline, Bishop of Salisbury, reciting and confirming gifts of lands, 1160 (Translation) :—

"Joseline, by the grace of God, Bishop of Salisbury, to all the faithful of Holy Church, greeting ;—As the pastoral office concerns the peace and quiet of all, especially those whom the name of religion commands us in all things to support and to confirm, by the testimony of my authority, all such benefactions as have been conferred on them by the faithful.

"Therefore it is that to our beloved and religious sons, the monks of St. Albans, serving God in the church of Holy Trinity at Warengeford, we have confirmed all possessions and all goods which the devotion of the faithful has bestowed upon them, and by these presents in writing and in patronage

* Moulsford. † Rufus.

‡ "Calendar," p. 6 ; and "Monasticon Anglicanum," tom. iii. p. 280.

have conferred, under documents from which those properties they hold in Bercheshire are to be precisely described, in tabular form, viz. in the town of Wallengeford, the church of Holy Trinity, the church of St. John, the church of St. Martin, the church of St. Mary, in Wallingford; the church of Hendred. In the village of Moulsford, two parts of the tithes in demesne, the gift of Emma de Chausi. The whole tithes of the whole demesne in the village of Cherseville. The whole tithes of the whole demesne of Dunituna, Erleia, Morton, and the lordship of Sotwell." *

Master Christian de Wallingford grants in frankalmoigne to the church of Wallingford, in consideration of providing him daily with meat and drink for himself and servant, certain lands, etc., and after his decease all his books of the Divine Scriptures for ever. Henry II., 1180.†

Gilbert de Hande grants to the church of Wallingford, to sustain the office of sacristan, half an acre of land in the field of Clopcote. Henry III., 1220.‡

Ralph de Watlington, formerly prior, with the assent of R., Abbot of St. Albans, and the unanimous consent of all his brethren, gives and assigns to the convent of Wallingford the rents received from the Abbot of Reading or the chamberlain of the same, in recompense for certain land, and also other bequests in Wallingford and elsewhere. Henry III., 1255 (mutilated).§

William Gurmund, of Wallingford, grants in frankalmoigne to the sacristan of the church of Wallingford, 31*s.* 2*d.* annual quit rents in the villages of Wallingford and Clopcote, for providing lamps and candles to burn to the honor of the blessed Virgin. Charter sealed by William, Abbot of St. Albans, Thomas, the Prior of Wallingford, as well as the above William Gurmund.‖

William, son of Geoffrey of the hall ("de aula"), confirms the donation which his father made, together with his body, to the monks of Wallingford in frankalmoigne, viz. five acres of arable land and one acre of meadow in Clopcote. Henry III., 1230.¶

Robert the dean, and the chapter of Salisbury, confirm the

* Bodleian Library, charter 3; "Monasticon Anglicanum," iii. p. 280.
† Cal. Bodleian, p. 15, charter 8. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid.
‖ Ibid., charter 16. ¶ Ibid., charter 18.

charter of Robert, Bishop of Salisbury, to the priory of the Holy Trinity, Wallingford, concerning the churches, tithes, and other gifts made to that house. Dated 1st Ides April, 1243.*

John, son of Hugh de Brehull, with the assent of Nicholia his wife, grants to Alan de Wallingford, physician, the whole of his fish-pond at the east gate, paying annually for the same, twopence.† Henry III., 1250.

Another deed, dated 1260, refers to a messuage lying in Kanecroft, in the said parish of the Holy Trinity.‡

A declaration of E., Archdeacon of Berks, that a synod having been held in the church of the priory of Wallingford, during the vacancy of the see of Salisbury, no claim shall hereafter be made, nor the liberties or privileges of the priory be disturbed in consequence thereof. Dated in the Vigil of the Conversion of St. Paul, 1246.§

Hubert de Hethfeld grants, in frankalmoigne, rents of 5*s.* 6*d.* out of certain lands for the sustentation of one wax candle of two pounds in weight, to burn before the image of St. Mary in the church of the Holy Trinity, Wallingford. Henry III., 1270.‖

A grant to Richard de Louches, 7 Edward II., 1314, conveys "the whole of that place with the Barbicans near the east gate of Wallingford, and also the place beyond the east gate."¶

Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, confirms to the Prior and convent of Wallingford, the appropriation of the churches of Shobyndon (Shabbington) and Aston Rowant, with the chapel of Stokenchurch, together with a pension of 100*s.* from Garsington Church, etc., with certain tithes therein named. Dated at Missenden, the Ides of April, 1320.**

Letters patent of King Edward III., 23rd January, sixth year of his reign, giving licence to Richard de Louches to grant a messuage of thirteen acres and a half of land, and one acre of meadow in Clopcote to the Prior and convent of Wallingford, for one chaplain to celebrate in the said priory each day

* Cal. Bodleian, p. 15, charter 23; "Monasticon Anglicanum," tom. iii. p. 280.

† Ibid., charter 30. The convent seal was found in this pond. (See p. 358.)

‡ Ibid., charter 31.

§ Ibid., charter 32.

‖ Ibid., charter 43.

¶ Ibid. The meadow in which Stephen erected the "ante castle."

** Ibid., charter 60.

for his soul, and the souls of William Heyron and Walter de Pulton, and the ancestors of the said Richard.*

Indenture made between William de Stevyngton, the Prior and convent of Wallingford of the one part, and the Lady Alianor Rohant, Simon, Parson of Adwell, and Thomas Osgar, clerk, of the other part; being a demise of the manor of Chalkford, together with a view of frankpledge there, and all lands and tenements, rents and services, which the same prior and convent have in Chinnore, Wilnehale, Kyngeston, and Henton, with view of frankpledge in Chinnore and tithes of the church of Aston Rowant, reserving to the convent the hay of the manor of Aston, if the convent have flocks and lambs there; the tithes of the chapel of Stokenchurch, the wood of Chalkford, and the presentations and pensions of the church of Chinnore, and the vicarage of Aston excepted; to hold the same for their lives, at an annual rent of £60.† 34 Edward III.

A charter (mutilated) of Edward, Prince of Wales, grants to the prior and convent 4*l.* of land and certain rents of the fee, and by another charter he grants to them his licence to acquire forty *solidatas* of land within his fee. ‡ Edward III.

Indenture dated 30th March, 18 Edward IV., by which Thomas Richard, late of London, and others, bind themselves to pay certain sums of money, amounting in the whole to 116*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*, for the Prior and convent of Wallingford, "who grant them, with certain exceptions, their priory" (mutilated).§

"William de Drueval, with the consent of his sons, gave one hide of land in Goring to the monks of Wallingford, for their care of him while he was ill; and likewise he gave to them Tedric the younger, with one virgate of land, his sons and belongings; of this hide the virgates are—one held by Tedric the younger, another by Hereward and Sa . . . his brother, a third by Godric, Swan, and Stephen. The fourth virgate, with one acre of meadow, the Lady Huna gave from her hide which she held in Goring, free from all secular service."‖ Henry IV.

* Cal. Bodleian, charter 74.
† Ibid., charter 99.
‡ Ibid., charters 106 and 108.
§ Ibid., p. 22, charter 145.
‖ Ibid., p. 10, charter 117.

"Rualend, the prior and convent, grant that hide of land which they hold in Goring, to roof the church of the Holy Trinity, and to supply whatever else is necessary. The secretary shall, on the Feast of St. John, 'ante port. Lat.,' feed the brethren with bread, wine, and fish." *

"Walter de Chauseye grants to the church of Wallingford one acre of land in Mapledurham, namely, that which is called 'havlvesaker,' and with this acre ten sticks of eels or 2*s.* annually, for the souls of his father, mother, and himself (see charter 52)." †

In a charter dated 3 Richard II., "the prior and convent demise to the Lady Margaret Saundervile, of South Moreton, the tithes of a meadow which was Nicholas', the son of Turold in Aston Turald." ‡ There is a manor at Moreton still called Saunderville.

A grant, *temp.* Henry IV., refers to "a tenement near the cemetery of the priory of Wallingford, in the parish of St. Martin." §

Various grants to the priory, besides those above referred to, are extant, for which see Fin. Oxon. 5 Joan. Rot. 11; Claus. 16 Joan, m. 22; Fin. Oxon. 8 Henry III.; Brev. R., 6 Edward II., 16; Patent Rolls, 2 and 6 Edward III., p. 1 and 3; 15 and 16 Richard II., p. 2, m. 3, and p. 1, m. 38, 39, and the Year-Books of 16 Henry VII.

Among the possessions of the priory was a manor at Estbury or Eastbury, ‖ in the parish of Lambourne, in this county, whither it would seem the monks were in the habit of resorting. The fine parish church of Lambourne is said to have been built in the early part of the twelfth century, on a large scale in the cruciform shape; modern innovation, however, and a superfluity of plaster have destroyed, to some extent, the effect of the original Norman design. But our interest centres in St. Mary's Chapel, which is annexed to the church, and was built, we are told, by John of Eastbury, about the year 1360 (Edward III.). He was evidently a great man in the place, a large territorial proprietor, and probably the sculptured work in the chapel archway, of men blowing horns and dogs chasing a hare, and also of fish, in contrast with the caricatures of monks, in the same archway,

* "Calendar," p. 11. † Henry IV.; "Calendar," p. 11.
‡ Ibid., p. 4. § Ibid. ‖ Esch., Richard II.

were intended to show how greatly the love of the chase and country pursuits were to be preferred to the rigid solitude and sombre life of the Wallingford monks, whom the ludicrous figures are supposed to represent.

But let us quote from an article written in 1871, by the Rev. John Murray, then Vicar of Lambourne, in the *Transactions of the Newbury Field Club*:*—

"The family of the Estburys resided in the parish, and were of great importance. You will see in this archway, which is very beautifully decorated, many curious designs. On one side is a representation of coursing, with dogs chasing a hare and men blowing horns. On the other side are some hares' heads and trout, showing that fishing was also an old amusement of this neighbourhood. Here are some portly and mitred abbots, and two curious corbels—one of them a woman, the other a fool or jester. I do not pretend to explain their meaning, because I am afraid their meaning was not always good. I believe a good deal of the satire of this arch was intended to apply to the monks of Wallingford Priory, who had an estate at Eastbury, where they were used to disport themselves, perhaps as the sculptor has endeavoured to show."

The possessions of the priory in the parish of Lambourne passed by purchase to Sir Thomas Essex, Knight, soon after the dissolution, as appears by proceedings in Chancery in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in which the plaintiff was Thomas Essex, Esq., great-grandson of Sir Thomas; the defendant, Thomas Fitch; and the object of the suit was to recover the title deeds relating to the premises.†

Among other possessions of the Priory were the woods ‡ of Souken and Velme (Swyncombe and Ewelme), called "Prior's Woods," a name which they still retain. These woods, in the time of Charles I., were held by —— Hyde, of the king, *in capite*, by military service; subsequently they passed into the hands of Mr. Rees Goring Thomas, who sold them to the late Mr. John Allnatt Hedges, by whose family they are now held.

In 1425 (3 Henry VI.), a dispute between the Prior and convent of the church of the Holy Trinity, and the cor-

* Vol. i. p. 143.

† Bailey's "Proceedings in Chancery," vol. i. p. 279, No. 17.

‡ Dugdale, vol. iii. p. 278.

poration of the borough, respecting the ownership of the croft hereafter mentioned, and the contribution towards the expenses of the two burgesses to serve in Parliament, and other matters, was settled by mutual agreement, on the terms embodied in the indenture, of which the following is the substance.

This indenture, made at Wallingford, on Monday in the Feast of St. George the Martyr, 3 Henry VI., between John Stoke, Prior of the church of the Holy Trinity, in Wallingford, and the convent of the same place, of the one part; and Lawrence Haweman, mayor of the town aforesaid, and the commonalty of the same town, of the other part. After reciting that strifes, discords, and debates had been moved between the parties in regard, *inter alia*, that the aforesaid mayor and commonalty claim and challenge a certain croft, called Bodecroft or Bothecroft, and the ditch or bank and way raised upon the aforesaid croft, containing seven acres, and extending from the west gate of the town to a lane called Houndes Street, next the north gate of the town; and also claim and challenge to assess the aforesaid prior and convent to contribute and pay certain tenths granted to the king, and also to contribute and pay towards the expenses of two burgesses elected and to be elected for the aforesaid town at the Parliament of the king, and of his heirs and successors; also claim and challenge from the said prior and convent a certain rent of 22*s.* 6*d.* yearly, and fealty and suit of court at the Portmote of the town aforesaid, four times in the year, for lands and tenements which the aforesaid prior and convent hold; and after also reciting that, by the mediation of friends of both parties intervening, peace has been made, certain terms of settlement are therein mentioned, which embraced a confession on the part of the mayor and commonalty that they had no right in the croft, ditch, or bank, and way aforesaid, and a release of all claim of right thereafter; and on the part of the prior and convent that they would make certain specified contributions whenever granted by the Commons of England to the said mayor and commonalty, for their lands and tenements purchased in the town, and the sum of fourpence for the expenses of the burgesses for every Parliament, also a certain rent of 22*s.* 6*d.* yearly, in lieu of certain "exactions, customs, fealty,

suit of court," etc. Among the many witnesses to this indenture appear the names of Thomas Chaucer, John Cotesmore, Thomas Stonore, Robert James, John Hampden, Edmund Rede, and Thomas Rothewell.

As before observed, Cardinal Wolsey, Commendatory Abbot of St. Albans, had obtained the pope's bull for dissolving this and other small monasteries, and had their lands bestowed upon him by the king, 20 Henry VIII., with the intent that he should settle the same on the new college which he was about to build at Oxford. For this reason, it may be, the yearly income of the cell is not to be found in the valuations of the religious houses, 26 Henry VIII.

On the 4th of January, 1524, the cardinal issued a commission to Sir William Gascoign, William Burbank, LL.D., and Thomas Cromwell, gentleman, to survey the monasteries and their possessions about to be converted to the uses of the Cardinal's College at Oxford; among the number is that of Wallingford. The commission is in Latin, on parchment, with a broken seal, in a tin box.

19th April, 1525. Twenty-five pages give, in Latin, the particulars of the surrender of the monastery, on this date, by Prior Geoffrey to John Allen, notary public, with whom were associated, as witnesses, Thomas Cromwell, John Clifton Chaplain, Roland Rokyn, John Lupton, and John Payn.* There were also present Anthony Husy, notary public, and William Butler. This surrender is beautifully written on vellum, and there are still attached to it cords of faded purple and yellow silk, which once held the seal.

14th January, 1528. Letter dated Oxenford, from Thomas Cannar, and addressed to "the Right Worshipful Master Thomas Cromwell, dwelling in London," states that he has received his letters, and a purse sent by John Smyth, the auditor; hears that my Lord's Grace intends to suppress the monastery of Wallingford, by authority of the pope; asks him, if Wolsey entrusts the matter to him, to let the people of Basingstoke, where he was brought up, have the bells; sends him a pair of Oxford gloves for a token; asks him to try and settle peaceably between Mr. Deane and William Freer as to his arrearages, and not to let it come to Wolsey's knowledge.

* Brewer's "Letters and Papers," Henry VIII., vol. iv. No. 1137 (19).

2nd April, 1528. Letter from Thomas Cromwell, dated at Oxford, and addressed to my Lord . . . . . (Cardinal Wolsey), in which he states that he has been to the monastery of Wallingford, and found all the church and household implements conveyed away, except the evidences, which he has sorted and given to the Dean of Wolsey's College at Oxford.* Croke and he then reformed the patents granted to him and his grants of his college, so that nothing is omitted. Has also found "offices" of the said monastery and all its possessions in Oxford and Berks, and of the omissions in the said counties belonging to Frediswides and Lytlemore. Is going to Bucks. and Beds., to find offices for the lands there belonging to the monastery of Wallingford, and of Praye beside St. Albans. The college is progressing. Every man thinks the like was never seen for largeness, beauty, sumptuous, curious, and substantial building. The chapel there is most devoutly and virtuously ordered. The ministers are diligent in the service of God, and the daily service so devout, solemn, and full of harmony, that it hath few peers.

30th June, 1528. Thomas Cromwell, in a letter to Thomas Arondell, of this date, after stating that he had received the cardinal's letters, telling him to be diligent about the perfection of the college at Ipswich, asks whether Wolsey intends to give absolutely to his college in Oxford the late monastery of Wallingford, etc., or whether he intends to give them in exchange for lands belonging to Snape and others, for his college at Ipswich.

10th July, 1528. Power of attorney, on vellum, with part of a magnificent seal attached, whereby John Higden, Dean of the college at Oxford, appoints Nicholas Giffordes and Hugh Whalley to take seizin of the suppressed monastery of Wallingford, and its lands, etc.

6th July, 1528. The following grant † by King Henry VIII. particularizes the possessions held by the priory of Holy Trinity, and supplies a key to the contents of the one hundred and sixty-two charters in the Bodleian Library, previously mentioned:—

* Ellis's "Original Letters," 3rd series, vol. ii. p. 138.

† Patent Roll, 20 Henry VIII., p. 1, m. 30. Brewer's "Letters and Papers," vol. iv. pt. ii. No. 4471.

Grant by the king to Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal-Archbishop of York, legate, etc., his heirs and assigns for ever, of the foundation, lands, site, etc., of the priory of Holy Trinity, Wallingford, which was suppressed by the authority of Pope Clement VII., and came into the king's hands, as appears by inquisitions before escheators. Also the manors of Wallingford, West Henreth, and Clapcote, Berks, Chalkforde, Oxon, with the advowsons of the churches of West Henreth, and St. Mary in Wallingford, Chynnor, Garsington, Aston Rowant, with the chapel of Stokenchurch, Oxon, and Shobuden, *alias* Shobington, Bucks., and all tithes and portion of tithes belonging to the said monastery, viz. 14*s.* annual rent for a portion of tithes in Donyngton, Berks, paid by the Prior and convent of Donyngton; 40*s.* annual rent in Kerswell, in the parish of Buckland, Berks, paid by the Rector of Edniton; 40*s.* annual rent for a portion of tithes in South Morton, Berks; 14*s.* annual rent for a portion of tithes in Aston Toralde, Berks; 40*s.* annual rent for a portion of tithes in Mulsford, Berks; £3 14*s.* 4*d.* annual rent for tithes in Sottewell, Berks; also 10*s.* annual rent for a portion of tithes in Gangulnesden, Oxon, paid by the Prioress and convent of Goring; 7*s.* annual rent for a portion of tithes paid by the Rector of Chinnor; an annuity of 2*s.* paid by the Rector of Chinnor; an annuity of 100*s.* in Garsington, paid by the Vicar of Aston, Oxon; 5*s.* 6*d.* annual rent for a portion of tithes in Kymbell Magna, Berks, paid by the Abbot and convent of Missendon; 8*s.* annual rent for a portion of tithes in Estclaydon, Bucks., paid by the Prior of St. John's of Jerusalem, in England; 6*s.* 8*d.* annual rent for tithes in the parish of Temesford, Beds.; 46*s.* 8*d.* annual rent for tithes in Dorton, Bucks., paid by the Prioress and convent of Holywell, near London; 8*s.* annual rent for tithes in Swindon, Wilts., paid by the Vicar of Swindon; 6*s.* 8*d.* annual rent for tithes in Redbourn, Wilts.; also a water-mill in the town of Northstoke, Oxon; a water-mill called 'Cuxham Mylne,' in the town of Cookeham, Oxon; a water-mill in Ethorp, Bucks., and all messuages, lands, etc., in Wallingford, Clopcote, Westhenreth, Donynton, Kerswell, Buckland, South Morton, Ardington, Sotwell, Brightwell, Huddisbuddes, North Morton, Aston Toralde, and Mulsford, Berks; in Chalkeford, Aston Rowant, Stokenchurch, Northstoke, Garsington, Chynnor,

Oxford, Bryghtwell, Watlington, Rytherfelde Pyppard, Huddesbudds, Coxham, Holcombe, Bensington, Chalford, Stanlake, Chalgrove, Stoke Basset, Newenham, Mapilderham, Henley, Wynhall, Crowmershe, Nettilbed, and Nusfielde, Oxon; in Kymbell Magna, Schobudon, *alias* Shobyngdon, Ethrop, Blackgrave, Estclaydon, and Queynton, Bucks.; in Shepeale, Herts; and in Swindon and Redborne, Wilts.; which came into the king's hands by reason of the suppression of the said monastery; with knights' fees, advowsons, and other appurtenances.

September 3, 1528. In a letter to Cardinal Wolsey, Thomas Cromwell asks for orders for the "fynours" of Durham, and encloses the yearly value of the late monastery at Wallingford.

Partly in a book, and partly in documents with corrections in the hand of Thomas Cromwell, are entered the receipts and expenses relating to the Cardinal's College at Oxford. Among them appear the following entries:—

An account of the total issues of each of the suppressed monasteries: Frideswide, £194 10*s.* 2*d.*; Lyttlemore, £28 17*s.* 2*d.*; Poughley, £59 8*s.* 3*d.*; Wallingford, £113 0*s.* 9½*d.* The last-mentioned sum forms part of a total of receipts for the year, amounting to £1591 14*s.* 4*d.*, including fines and a loan of £345 7*s.* 9*d.*, against which is, "charge on Treasury, £1703 15*s.* 8*d.*"

"Received of the revenues of the late Monastery of Wallingford, a° H. (Henry) Octavi 20, of John Purdon, £48."

June 16. For half-year's farm of Chobingdon parsonage, 53*s.* 4*d.*

Of John Burgon, auditor, for a portion of tithe in Hertfordshire, paid by the Prioress of Hallywell, 46*s.* 8*d.*

Among the payments by Thomas Cromwell, "about the business of my Lord's College," probably 20 Henry VIII., are the following, relating chiefly to Wallingford Priory. Expenses "about the finding of offices" (inquisitions), costs of Cromwell and Croke riding to Oxford, and being there with ten horses for eleven days, £13 12*s.*

Rewards to escheators.—To the escheator of Oxford and Berks for offices for Wallingford, Fredyswide, and Littlemore, £4. To the escheator of Bucks. at finding the offices of Wallingford, 40*s.*

Costs of juries at the finding of the offices, dinner of the jury and their horse meat, sheriffs, under-sheriffs, etc., in Bucks., 48*s.* 9*d.*, for Wallingford.

For carriage of evidences from Wallingford to Oxford, canvas and maling cord, 14*d.*

Man and horse from Wallingford to Oxford, 14*d.*; paper, 6*d.*; 1 lb. of wax, 8*d.*

The term "evidences" applies doubtless to the charters and grants of land now preserved in the Bodleian Library, and a subsequent item refers to the cost of eighteen boxes, "to put charters in," probably relating to the charters obtained at Wallingford, as well as others obtained elsewhere.

Entries appear of rewards to Mr. Croke's clerks, for correcting my Lord's books, and writing offices, and fees to clerks of privy signet, privy seal, etc.

To Stephen Vaughan, for writing all the evidences and charters of my Lord's College in two great long rolls, £6 17*s.* 9*d.*

Expenses riding down to Oxford, taking possession of the lands of Wyng and Wallingford. For himself, seven horses and six men for eleven days, £5 3*s.* 2*d.*

To children and others present at taking possession, 17*s.* 2*d.* Cheer made to the tenants, 31*s.* 4*d.*

In 1530, commissions were issued, dated Westminster, to several persons to make inquisition in different counties, "concerning the possessions held by Thomas, Cardinal-Archbishop of York, on the 2nd of December, 15 Henry VIII., when the Cardinal committed certain offences against the Crown, for which he was attainted." *

For Berks the commissioners were Sir William Essex, John Noreys, Henry Brigges, and John Lotton. For Oxfordshire, Sir John Daunce, Sir William Barentyne, Edward Chamberleyn, and William Fermour.†

Subsequently the king assigned to the college at Oxford the rents and lands lately belonging to St. Frediswide; the monasteries of Littlemore, Poghley, Canwell, Daventry, and Wallingford, etc., amounting to £667 18*s.* 6*d.*

A note is appended that the rents at Wallingford and

* Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 402.

† Patent Roll, 22 Henry VIII. p. 1, m. 8 d. 9 d.

other places named, amounting to £359 6*s.* 1*d.*, were not then assumed. Certain payments are entered under the head "Pensions and corrodies for life," chargeable chiefly on the suppressed monasteries. Among the claimants are: Wallingford—William Young demands, by virtue of a convent seal, a yearly fee of 53*s.* 4*d.*, and William Belson, 40*s.*

Under a later date the following payments, *inter alia*, appear:—

To William Belson, of Brill, for his fee for Wallingford, £3. Thomas Cromwell, for his fee due at the annunciation of St. Mary last, by the sub-dean, 3rd July, £10. To Mr. William Belson, for his fee of Chalforde, of Wallingford, 14th October, 40*s.* William Lymcocke, for his fee of Wallingford, 30*s.*

Certain expenses of the sub-dean and others are noted as under—

To Mr. Bale riding to York to get money from Lord Conyars, and to Wallingford to meet the Dean of the Castle, who is destroying their chapel there. To Bale, Parker, and Markham, riding to Wallingford and staying there, "ad servandum domum."

The chapel in the Castle refers to St. Nicholas, and not to the Priory of Holy Trinity; and as the item appears under the head of "Cardinal's College, Oxford," it may be inferred that the college of St. Nicholas passed to Wolsey as well as the Priory; but this seems improbable for the reasons before stated.

The fortnightly account of building expenses for the college, from November, 1528, to 24th October, 1529, shows that lead was taken from Wallingford. The entry runs:—Stone taken from Cotswold and Hedington; payments for new lodges made for freemasons at Barington and Sherburne; expenses at Sonnyng; carriage of gravel; repairing lime-kilns at Becley; taking down leade at Wallingford; carriage of lead from Poughley, etc., etc., besides wages to freemasons, "herdhewars," carpenters, and other labourers.

In the fortnight ending 16th May, 1530, appears the following entry:—"Taking downe leade at Walingford, 26*s.* 4*d.*" *

On Wolsey's attainder the site of the priory with divers lands again reverted to the Crown, and was granted in 1547

* Brewer's "Calendar," vol. iv. p. 6023.

(38 Henry VIII.) to John Norris, Esquire, by way of exchange with the Crown. (See Harl. MS. 7389, p. 267; Dugdale; Tanner.)

"On xxvii. of July the xxxviijth of Kinge Henry the viij., an exchange between the Kinges Ma^tie^ and Jo. Norris, Esquire."

"Lands assigned by the Kinges Ma^tie^ to the said Jo. Norris, Esquire:—

"The capital messuage or house in Wallingford, in the countie of Berks, wherein the last Prior of Wallingford did inhabit, with the houses, gardens, orchards, fishponds, streams, and rivulets, and other grounds, being within the circuit and precinct of the said Monasterie, letten to John Purdon by Indenture, and late parcel of the possessions of Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal, deceased, per annum, xv^s^.

"The Farme of the Manor of the late Priory of Wallingford, in the said county, with all houses, orchards, stables, and other appurtenances, and divers lands and pastures in Clopcottefeld, Portmanfeld, Oxelee, King's Meade, North Meade, Fellott's More, Gore Malleshmore, Stonyden in Myddell Furlong, Monkendon, Thistell furlongs, eight acres abutting on Thistell furlong, one close near Clopcote Manor, called Dawes, with all commons and pastures late in the tenure or occupation of Richard Forde, and then of John Purdon, by indenture, per annum x^li^.

"One close in Wallingford, aforesaid called Bodye Croft, parcel of the same possessions, with x^s^ yearly of encreasement of rente of all the premises, letten by indenture to the said John Purdon by the year, xxiij^s^ iiij^d^.

"Some (sum) is xj^li^ xviij^s^ iiij^d^, whereof deducted for the tenthe xxiij^s^ x^d^, and there remayneth by year cleere x^li^ xiiij^s^ vj^d^.

"Lands appointed unto the Kinges Ma^tie^ by the said John Norris. A messuage called Avelenor Howse, with appurtenances, and one close in Newe Windsore, and divers other lands, meadows, and pastures, in the fielde and parishe of Old Windsore and New Windsore. . . .

"Some is viij^li^ xij^s^ vj^d^, and . . . so the Kinges Ma^ties^ lands doe surmount the lands of the said John Norris, by the yearly value of xij^s^ x^d^ ob, which, rated at xx^tie^ yeares purchas, amounteth to the somme of xlj^li^ xix^s^ viij^d^; add thereunto for

the woods x^{li} vij^{s}, and then the whole somme is $liij^{li}$ vj^{s} $viij^{d}$, to be paid in hand. Memorandum . . . to except all advowsons.

"The Kinges Ma^{tie} is pleased and contented to discharge the lands which he departeth from in his exchange, of all incumbrances, except leases, and the tenth before reserved, and except such charges as the farmors are bounde to beare, and paye, by force of their indentures, and except such reprises as be allowed in the particulars. Memorandum . . . that the said Jo. Norris must be bound to discharge his lands, etc., ut supra."

Dugdale's * description of the above-mentioned exchange has been amplified by additions from the valuation, 14 Henry VIII., and particulars from grants in that reign in the Augmentation Office: from which also the following summary and particulars are taken:—

"Wallingford, £17 1*s.* 8*d.*, West Henreth, £40 7*s.* 2*d.* = Chalgrove, Newham Moryn, Aston Thorold, Sottwell (land and tithes), and various other places, £76 14*s.* 4*d.*, making a total of £134 3*s.* 2*d.* The said manor is of the yerlie value of lij^{li} xix^{s} iij^{d}. The same liethe in distance from the Kinges Ma^{ties} honor of Ewelme, iij myles.

"His grace's Castell of Wallingforde adioyneth to the said Manor." Prior's Woods, before mentioned, are described to be part of the possessions of "the late Thomas Wolcey, Cardynell, atteynted," and are valued as under—

"The first containing iij acres, whereof all is beech of xxx^{ti} and xi. yeares growth, valued at xx^{s} the acre, total (in the holle) lxx^{s}. The second ij. acres i. rood of like kind, partly better growth, at $xxiij^{s}$ $iiij^{d}$ the acre, in the holle, . . . $lxiiij^{s}$ ij^{d}. The third part v. acres thinly growing with olde bechez and some oke, valued at $xiij^{s}$ $iiij^{d}$ the acre, in the holle, $lxxiij^{s}$ $iiij^{d}$. The trees growing about the situations of the said houses, and in the hedgerows belonging to the same, are reserved as well for the ffermour his sufficyent greate tymber for the reparre of the said howsez, as for his hedgeboote, ploughboote, and carteboote, and therefore not valued. Total x^{li} vij^{s} vj^{d}.

"Ex^{d} Joh' em Purevey, Deput.
Rob' ti Henneage, Armigeri."

* Vol. vi. pt. iii. p. 1330.

The above-named John Norris conveyed the Priory estate on 27th August, 1 Mary (1553), to Christopher Ayelyn and Jocosa his wife, and it afterwards belonged to the family of the Molins (whose monuments were in the old church of St. Peter before its demolition), and then to William Hucks, Esquire, by whose descendants it was sold a few years ago.

There is no doubt that the site of this priory was near the west gate, on the south side of the Croft and on the north of High Street. In making excavations some twenty years ago, the foundations in flint of considerable thickness, and so consolidated that the pickaxe was of little use, were discovered by the late Mr. Charles Greenwood, the then owner, at this spot. At an earlier time (1833), the late Mr. J. J. Allnatt in making excavations lighted upon these ancient walls, and just without on the east side found a stone coffin, large enough only for a child, the dimensions being:—

	Exterior. ft.	in.	Interior. ft.	in.
Length	2	6	1	11
Breadth at head ...	1	2	0	8
Breadth at feet ...	0	10½	0	5
Depth at centre ...	0	10	0	7½

This coffin served the purposes of a cattle trough at the Priory Farm for many years.

Hearne states that the priory walls were pulled down in 1723; some of the buildings are referred to as remaining in 1644.

Another discovery was made about the year 1840. In digging near the great pond, as it was then, and may be now not inaptly called, and which was no doubt the fish pond of the priory, a pointed oval metal seal was found, with the inscription, prominently cut, in Norman letters, "Sigillum Secreti ✠" surrounding a white stone in the centre, and a serpent's head with open mouth grasping (apparently) an apple, which formed the eyelet. A portion of the stone has been chipped off.

Several human skeletons have also been found near the site of the priory, and a few years ago two or three were discovered under one of the rooms of the house, on the west side, but no trace of coffins could be discerned. Encaustic

tiles of the date probably of Edward III. have been found there, similar to those which have been met with in great numbers within the Castle grounds, and in some of the older churches of the diocese of Oxford. These tiles now form the untrodden portion of the pavement in a summer house which was erected by Mr. Greenwood in the ornamental grounds, into which what was formerly called the Bullcroft has now been converted.

Priors of Wallingford.

The following list of priors has been taken from Browne Willis's "History of the Mitred and Other Abbeys," with additions principally from Newcombe's "History of St. Albans," Clutterbuck's "History of Hertfordshire," and from the "Calendar of Charters," in the Bodleian Library. The names of many of them appear as plaintiffs in various suits in the records of the courts at Wallingford.

The earliest name is that of Nicholas de Wallingford, who is mentioned, *ante, temp.* 4 Henry II. (A.D. 1158), as having been entrusted by the king with an important mission to Rome and Ireland. He was monk of St. Albans, and made Abbot of Malmesbury, in A.D. 1182.

He was probably also the prior of whom Peter de Blois, or Blesensis—who was invited to England by King Henry II., and was afterwards made Archdeacon of Bath by him—complained greatly of want of hospitality, in the following translated letter * addressed to the Abbot and Convent of St. Albans:—

"Lately I returned from the visitation of my archdeaconry, sending on before, my servants to Waralingford, that they should prepare for my reception,† and also that they should seek from the prior himself, vacant houses of his, to be accommodated to my use for one night, and collect together all things of his, needful for us and our animals. The prior replied to them with much pride and abusive language, and breaking out into insult, almost to the extent of blows, provoked them by the disgraceful baseness of his words."

John occurs in 1195, in which year he was made Abbot of

* Bishop Tanner gives e letter in Latin. † "Hospitium."

St. Albans, and was hence called John Wallingford, or de Cella, though Matthew Paris says he was so called from his having been born at Merkyate Cell, not far from Studham, and therefore sometimes called John of Studham. In his younger days he had, although of mean parentage, studied in Paris, and came home, says Paris, "with such reputation that in grammar he was considered a very Priscian, in poetry a perfect Ovid, and in physic was esteemed equal to Galen." Having taken the religious habit, he was first advanced to the priorate here, and after four years was promoted to the abbacy of St. Albans.* The experience and practice of John de Cella after he had been promoted to the abbacy were so great that he is said to have been able to repeat a whole service, perhaps of fifteen or twenty psalms, without book—nay, that he would repeat them backwards and not err in any of the responses; and his sanctity was such, that if he sang aloud, the responses were made by angels. Such is the character given him by the monks, his contemporaries, who never failed to mingle some portion of superstition in all their writings; but though we cannot admit his repeating so many psalms backward without an error, nor the responses made by angels, yet there is enough to show that, considering the age of darkness in which he lived, he must have been a man of great learning and piety.

We are told by Clutterbuck † and Chancey, that this John, assisted by others, caused to be pulled down the front of the church of the abbey, which had been composed of tiles closely cemented together, and began to build it anew. He also rebuilt the refectory and dormitory, and entrusted the superintendence of the work to Hugh de Goldcliff, who though an excellent workman was a man of bad character. The money was consequently misapplied, and the conduct of the work given to Gilbert de Eversholt. To meet the expenses an annual tax of one sheaf of corn was levied upon every acre sown of the abbey lands. This tax began in the third year after his election, and was continued during the remainder of his life, a period of seventeen years, and for ten years of that of his successor. The dormitory was also rebuilt, and rooms added for the use of the domestics, to

* Newcombe, p. 102; Matthew Paris, "Vitæ Abbatum," p. 103.

† "History of Hertfordshire."

defray the expense of which the convent gave up their wine for the space of fifteen years!

Browne Willis states that the abbot purchased the church of St. Stephen, with certain lands adjoining, for one hundred and twenty marks, which he assigned to the officers of the kitchen.

John de Cella was succeeded in the government of the priory by Simon in 1195, who remained in his office till 1205, and perhaps longer.

Ralph Warington is the next who occurs, and then Geoffrey, A.D. 1250. Willis says Thomas succeeded Geoffrey, and was a steady asserter of the rights of the priory; for on occasion of a vacancy in the church of Chinnor, by the death of one William Penne, the incumbent, the appointment of the new vicar was claimed by Thomas, and opposed by a person of the name of Hugo, who was a goldsmith in London, who not only claimed the presentation as his right, but actually presented a person to the living in prejudice of this priory. The prior however insisted on his right, presented to the living one Richard Sotwell, and cautioned the Bishop of Lincoln against instituting the person nominated by Hugo. The decision of the case from some unknown cause having been delayed, the bishop took advantage of the lapse, and collated to the church of Chinnor one Colman. The prior still persisting on his right carried the cause into court, and at the assizes his right to the patronage was established. On this decision of the court, the king sent a letter to the Bishop of Lincoln, enjoining him "that notwithstanding the proclamation of Hugo he would proceed to institute a proper person." *

A.D. 1259. In this year John of Wallingford was chosen Prior of Abingdon, in the stead of Richard de Offinton, who died about Michaelmas.†

Gregory occurs A.D. 1288, and William de Kirkeby at the latter end of the thirteenth century, to whom reference is made hereafter in connection with Richard de Wallingford. Germanus succeeded. He was followed by Stephen de Wittenham, whose name occurs in 1315; after him William de Huntingdon, and then William de Heron. He presided in

* Newcombe, p. 185.

† "Chronicles of the Monastery of Abingdon."

the years 1338 and 1357, and died here. He was buried with great pomp in the Abbey of St. Albans.

In the following year, William de Stenington was promoted to the office of prior, and presided eight years.

About this time a monk of the name of Whitchurch held the office of prior here for a short period; but offering, in connection with some of the monks of St. Albans, to purchase chaplainships of the Duke of Lancaster, who had obtained a grant from the pope to sell fifty chaplainships to defray the expenses of his voyage to Spain, the abbot removed him from the priory at Wallingford to St. Albans. After remaining there a short time the Lord Rhos took him to Belvoir, and placed him there among the monks, paid his charges for board, and soon after procured for him the cell of Grimsby, where he held the office of prior till his death.

According to the St. Albans Register, William de Heron, a second prior of that name, occurs in 1380, and continued till 1389, when William de Bingham, or Bynham,* succeeded. He was alive in 1396, but was prevented at that time by extreme weakness of body from attending the chapter at St. Albans for the election of an abbot, and was permitted to vote by proxy when John Moote was elected.

John Stoke is mentioned as prior in the time of Henry IV., and it appears by the indenture copied before that he held that office in the third year of Henry VI. He was chosen the thirty-fourth Abbot of St. Albans, 19 Henry VI., A.D. 1440, and having, during the internal troubles of the kingdom, incurred many debts, the Prior of Wallingford among others contributed twenty marks towards their discharge. Robert Ownesby was probably his successor.

The following letter from King Henry VI. to John Stoke, Abbot of St. Albans, is set out in the "Chronica Monasterii S. Albani:" †—

"By the King, oure Sovereyne Lord.

"Trusty and wel beloved in God, we grete you wel, and forasmoche as we ben enfourmede that ye be disposed to calle home unto your monastrye of Saint Albons oure wel-beloved Dan Robert Ownesby, Priour of the Prioury of Walingforde, we hauing consideracion unto the gode reporte that hath be made un to us of the pollitique gouvernance of the same Dan

* In the Bodleian Calendar, called "Dynham." † Vol. ii. p. 370.

Robert, the whiche, as it is said, is right a prouffitable persoune for the wele of the said Prioury, as wel in temporel administracion as in spirituel rieule and gouvernance, desire and pray you hertly both for the said causes and for other consideracions that moeven us, that ye wol at the reverence and contemplacion of thees oure letters, respite the said Dan Robert of commyng unto youre Monasterye abouensaid, lating you wite at such tyme as ye shal come next unto oure presence, we shal late you have knowlege of the cause of oure said desire more at large; and that ye yeue * ful feith and credence unto our wel-beloued squiere John Thorndone, berer of thees, in that he shal declare vnto you on oure behalve, in that partye, as we specially trust you. Yeuen under our signet at our Manour of Shene, the xiii. day of Marche.

"To thabbot of Saint Albons."

Henry Halstede here occurs in King Henry VI.'s charter to this priory, A.D. 1444. He is noticed in John Whethamstede's Chronicle, p. 335, as one of those who, in the time of Abbot Stoke of St. Albans, had withdrawn and gone to a secular life, by virtue of a papal bull *de promotione;* which was imputed to the misconduct of Abbot Stoke. The brethren who withdrew with the prior were Robert Morpath, the cellarer, and William Wisbiche.

John Peyton, LL.D., is next in succession as prior in 1451, and was present at the chapter in which John Wheathamsteade, *Doctor in decretis*, was reinstated ("elected," by Dugdale) Abbot of St. Albans. This re-election took place on the 16th January, 1452. Newcombe, in his "History of St. Albans," p. 254, notices "the expedients resorted to by John of Gaunt in the time of Edward III. for raising money for his expedition into Spain, mentions the procuring the licence from the pope for the sale of fifty chaplainships," as before referred to, but puts the date somewhat later, and adds that Whitchurch, who was moved by this temptation, was an aged monk who had lived fifty years in the rule, and had been Prior of Hatfield as well as of Wallingford.

William Wells occurs in 1453.† Willis by mistake calls him John Wells. He is probably the same with William Wallis, mentioned by Peck from the obituary of the Priory of Belvoir.

* Give. † Kennett, vol. ii. p. 392.

In A.D. 1458, John de Banburgh was in possession of the office, and in 1472, William de Hardwick, D.D., was prior, who in the following year was succeeded by William Rysborow; after him came Anthony Zouch, A.D. 1484. The next upon record is John Thornton, B.D., who presided over the priory from A.D. 1497 to 1503. Willis thinks it probable he was succeeded by John Clare, who occurs A.D. 1515—7 Henry VIII.—and whom he presumes to have been the last prior; he continued to hold the office till 1529, in which year Cardinal Wolsey obtained a grant from the king of this priory, as before mentioned.

Celebrities.

Among the natives of Wallingford whose great learning had rendered them more particularly deserving of notice was—

John de Wallingford. He was Abbot of St. Albans in 1195, and a learned historian. His "Chronica Joannis Wallingford" was published by Dr. Gale, in his collection of English historians, and is a standard book of reference at the present day, containing a chronicle of events from the year 449 to 1036. Some account of him appears before he died in 1214.

In the time of this abbot King John sent his precept to all sheriffs, requiring them to cause four lawful men, with the reeve of every vill, to meet at St. Albans, in order that he might be informed what damage every bishop had sustained, what had been taken from and what was due to them. He also confirmed all the grants of his predecessors to the abbey.*

Richard de Wallingford, the twenty-eighth Abbot of St. Albans. He derived his name from the place of his birth, as was the ancient practice, for the use of surnames was not then in general use. "He was the son of a blacksmith, and had been bereft of his parents at the early age of ten years, upon which Kyrkby, the then Prior of Wallingford, took him under his care, and finding him to possess a docile genius, prepared him for the university at Oxford, at which place his conduct and abilities growing conspicuous, he was in due time appointed to read in public that great standard of Divinity, the sentences of Lombard."† Merton was his

* Matthew Paris, p. 103.

† Fuller's "Worthies of England."

college, and after nine years spent in the university, he went to dwell in the Abbey of St. Albans, where he had been admitted a monk long before, though allowed to be absent as a public lecturer.

He had been much encouraged in his studies by the last abbot, and at his death, which took place in the year 1326, was chosen to preside in his room. "He is said to have governed his order with great prudence, and to have been a strenuous asserter of the rights of the abbey against the inhabitants of the town of St. Albans; not only by punishing the offenders, but by making their riotous proceedings a cause for depriving them of the privileges they had extorted from his predecessor."

Besides the great proficiency he had made at Oxford in the new studies then in vogue, he excelled, according to Leland, in arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. He was a good mechanic, and as a specimen of his ingenuity, he is said to have invented a clock that was a miracle of art; it exhibited the course of the sun and moon, the rising and setting of the fixed stars and planets, the ebbing and flowing of the tides, and, in short, the figures, operations, and effects of all the heavenly bodies. He had begun this clock early in life, and afterwards neglected it; but being encouraged by the king, when on a visit to the abbey, he resumed the work, and this royal exhortation made him very diligent in the execution of it, for he would say, "though the abbey wants repairs, my successors may be able to build walls and mend tilings, but none, I believe, excepting myself, can ever finish this clock." When completed it was presented to the abbey.

He wrote several works, which were proofs of his great learning, but nothing more now remains of them than their titles; among these the following are mentioned:—"Of Astronomical Judgments;" "Of Demonstrative Signs;" "Of the Chord and Arc;" "Of the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon;" "Of the Right Angle;" and "Of Arithmetic and Computation."

"This Richard repaired the roof of the abbey, and laid the first stone of a new cloister. In the sixth year of his government, he was attacked by a severe pain in his left eye, which brought on total blindness, and being very weak and infirm, and violently infected with the leprosy, he was rendered in-

capable of performing the duties of his office. He died in the month of May 1335, in the ninth year of his elevation, and was interred by the Lord Abbot of Waltham, in the presbytery, near his two predecessors."

Another native of this borough was

John Stoke. As before mentioned, he was Prior to the Cell at Wallingford, and was elevated to the dignity of abbot, on the resignation of Wheathampstead, in the year 1440. He was the thirty-fourth abbot, and governed his church eleven years, dying in 1451, and was interred in the abbey. "On his tomb * is a large brass figure, of which the head only now remains; it is ornamented with a mitre set with precious stones, and an elegant light crozier; round the neck is a rich embroidered cope; and placed beneath a triple gothic canopy, on which stand, as supposed, two pilgrims, their heads surrounded by nimbi or light clouds. One of the figures has something in his right hand, representing either a wand or sword; the other has a cross in his right hand, with a purse and a pilgrim's staff in his left. Within the pediment were the abbey arms, and two figures, supposed to have represented Christ and the Virgin Mary, but these no longer remain. Round the ledge is an inscription in the old English characters, but now nearly obliterated, said to have strongly characterized the age in which he lived, of which only the first line and two or three insulated words are now legible. The beginning is as follows, 'Vir. . . . Crucis et Christi Tumulo jacet insitus—sti . . .' For 'insitus,' Weaver gives 'inclitus,' and, in folio 555, adds the following epitaph:—

> "'Hic jacet oblitus Stoke, stans velut ardua quercus,
> Semper in adversis perstitit intrepidus,
> Wallingford prior hic, gregis hujus pastor et abbas.
> Donet ei requiem, celsa Dei pietas.'"

We also learn from the same authority that there was a scroll issuing from his mouth, containing three lines commencing thus:—

> "Celica regna bone, ut dent queso patrone."

The abbey arms were four lions rampant quarterly.

This abbot was a strenuous asserter of the rights and possessions belonging to his church, and procured from King

* Browne Willis.

Henry VI. an enlargement of the liberties of the abbey, in compensation for certain jewels and ornaments, bequeathed by the Duke of Gloucester to the abbey, but detained by the king. He bestowed large sums in ornamenting the building of the church and monastery, and, as the Memoirs of Abbot Wheathampstead, in the Cottonian Library, Claudius D I, printed by Hearne in his Preface to "Otterbourne's Chronicles" (p. 121) assure us, he was the builder of that duke's monument:—"illud lapideum tabernaculum quod pro nunc erigitur super domini ducis Gloucestriæ sarcophagum fabricam faciebat."

He left money for the great bell, called after him John, and to new glaze the cloister. He bought cloth of gold of a blue ground, to lay over the dead monks on the day of their funeral, and a fine piece of Flemish tapestry hangings for the Abbot's Chamber. He brought many articles with him from Wallingford, some of which he kept, and added them, with others, to the wardrobe of St. Albans.

William de Wallingford was also a native of this place, and a monk of St. Albans. He was patronized by John Stoke (who was his townsman), while prior of this cell, and on his being elected Abbot of St. Albans, went with him to that abbey, and having served the offices of bursar, cellarer, and forester, became archdeacon. Stoke, who, it is said, was naturally indolent, neglected his duties as abbot, and threw all concern and care of management on Wallingford, as thinking him the most at leisure, and of high authority to govern all the rest, and oversee their conduct; calling him his official general—a new title when applied to secular concerns. He afterwards became successively prior and abbot of St. Albans, being elected to the latter dignity on the 4th of August, 1476.

During his time, in the year 1480, the art of printing, which had been brought into England by Caxton a few years before, was introduced* into the monastery. The earliest book printed at St. Albans was "Rhetorica nova Fratris Laurentii Gulielmi de Saona." Date 1480.

Singular transactions between Abbot Whethamstede and William Wallingford are mentioned in the register of this abbot, and discussed in the introduction to that work; they

* Clutterbuck.

involve serious charges of theft against Wallingford and his brother Thomas, made apparently with a sinister and malicious motive. The author of the introduction characterizes these charges as scandalous attacks, and "a structure of calumny and vituperation, based, it may be, upon some slight fragment of fact, to disqualify him from the abbacy; but if so, the poisoned shaft fell short of its aim, for upon the death of William Alban, Wallingford succeeded him as abbot." *

A commission was issued, which led to no result.

This abbot laid out much money in repairs and purchases, and strenuously defended the rights of the abbey, but his great achievement was the erection of the high altar, which he completed at the expense of 1100 marks. Though there are the arms of Wheathampstead upon it, it is said to be the undoubted work of this abbot, and to be the noblest piece of architecture of which the abbey has to boast. Near it he built a small chapel, with a tomb for himself, on which his effigy was afterwards cut in marble, with the following inscription:—"Gulielmus quartus, opus hoc laudabile cujus extitit, hic pausat: Christus sibi præmia reddat." Weaver says his gifts amounted to £8060 7*s.* 6*d.*

He died on the 8th of August, 1484, and was interred in the abbey, between the tombs of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and the late abbot, John Wheathampstead.

Expenditure at Priory.

At the Public Record Office are accounts of this priory, from the tenth to the sixteenth year of Richard II., which were formerly kept at the Chapter House, Westminster. In Cardinal Wolsey's book (as it is called), in the Augmentation Office, 18 Henry VIII., the leaf which contained an account of the revenues of this priory is unfortunately lost, but there are some entries as to the expenditure; by which it appears that the wages of the servants amounted per annum to £8 12*s.* 8*d.*; the expenses of housekeeping in oxen, sheep, calves, pigs, etc., salt fish and other fish, spices and other necessaries, £40 19*s.* 8*d.*; the expenses of husbandry, in making of hay, cutting of grain, etc., were £14; and the repairs amounted to £16 9*s.* 10*d.* that year.

* Vol. i. p. xviii.

Church Ornaments.

The church ornaments remaining are thus expressed—

Remanere Jocalium infra Prioratum Walyngford prædict.

iij. calices et deaurat	gilt chalices.
j. crux argenti et deaurat	cross silver gilt.
ij. pere de les cruetts	pair of cruets.
ij. candelebris argenti	silver candlesticks.
j. turibulum	censer.
j. pixid' argenti	silver patine (of chalice).
ij. siphi mirrei [scyphi murrei]	porcelain bowls.
j. crat' [cratera]	a goblet.
vj. cocliaria [cochlearia]	spoons.
j. ciphus cornu argent' circumplexus [scyphus]	bowl with silver rim or border.

Incumbents of Holy Trinity.

No account of the incumbents of the church of the Holy Trinity appears prior to the register of Bishop Simon de Gandavo, from which and from subsequent registers the following extracts are taken :—

Thomas de Estgenge	26th April, 1303.
Register of Bishop Mortivall.	
William Capistre	24th September, 1316.
Register of Bishop Wyvyle.	
John de Amythut	14th December, 1331.
John de Stanstede	1st May, 1334.
Walter Kinebell	4th July, 1350.
John Campden	24th March, 1351.

St. John the Baptist.

This was a free chapel * attached to the hospital of that name, which was situated without the south gate,† in what is now called the Lower Green. It appears hereafter that the hospital was founded by the inhabitants of the town, but the date of foundation is a matter of uncertainty. In the records in the beginning of King Edward I.'s reign, and subsequently to the commencement of the reign of Henry VIII.,

* Tanner, p. 20. † Dugdale, vol. vi. part 2, p. 754.

are frequent references to "the master, brethren, and sisters" of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist. According to the "Monasticon," it was endowed in Edward's reign "for poor men and women;" there are, however, several grants to the hospital in the preceding reign. Among those in the corporation chest is a grant, in the reign of Henry III., from the celebrated Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, releasing certain rents in favour of the hospital, and of land from Henry de Appleford. In another grant two houses are conveyed to the hospital, and in the same reign land at Gatehampton, Oxon, is devised by will for praying for the souls of the testator and others. There is also in the Bodleian Library a grant in the same reign (1240), to the brethren and sisters of the hospital, in frankalmoigne, of a messuage in the parish of "St. Leonard, within the south gate of Wallingford." Grants and papers relating to this hospital, of a later date, abound among the archives of the corporation of Wallingford.

In a grant, *temp.* Edward II., from Sir James ——, the grantee is described as the dean of the college. Another document recites a will, by which a legacy was given to the "brethren of the hospital;" and to a grant in which Robert de Beaconsfield is mentioned as chaplain of the hospital, the seal of the fraternity is attached.

Judging from the number of free grants, the institution must have had a large foundation, and the inmates of the hospital appear to have been especially favoured for their works of charity and exercises of piety. In the reign of Henry III., thirty days' indulgence was granted by the Bishop of Hereford for gifts to the brethren and sisters. This seems to have been an expedient frequently resorted to in early times in this country, for getting money for an object professedly connected with the interests of religion; but it by no means follows that the treasury of the hospital was replenished to its proper extent. There is too much reason to believe that in many instances a considerable portion of the offerings thus obtained was diverted from its legitimate object, and found its way into the private coffers of those who thus practised upon the simplicity and credulity of the people.

A small part of the chapel or hospital, with its square-topped stone windows (probably an addition at a much later

period), was traceable till within the last few years on the north side of the house adjoining "St. John's," the residence of the late Mr. Alderman Payne, J.P.; and, according to repute, the ruins of a chancel were, about 180 years since, then observable. It is a singular coincidence, that in the year 1614, the owner of "St. John's" was James Griffith Payne,* alderman of the borough, but with whom the present family of that name claim no connection.

The following entry is taken from the ledger of the corporation, under date 25th of November, 33 Henry VIII.:—

"Richard Adene appeared before the mayor, and produced the advowson of the hospital of St. John, and that of St. Mary Magdalen, under the seals of the guild and the mayoralty, and was inducted into possession, and the mayor received his oaths faithfully to perform all the constitutions of the hospital."

The connection of the municipal body with this institution is explained by the following extract from the certificates of colleges and chantries in Berks, 51, No. 36, *temp.* Henry VIII.:—

"One ffree chaple of Seynt John
Baptyst . . . . . founded by
Thenhabytants of the said towne of Wallyngforde (as the comyssioners ben enformed) to thentent to have a prest to saye masse yerely vppon Seynt John Baptyste daye in the said chaple, and at none other tyme, whych ys done accordingly.

"The said free chaple ys scytuate w^th^in the parishe of Seynt Lenard, in Wallyngford, dystant frome the churche one furlonge.

"The value of the said free chaple, vj^li^, whyche John Adeane, clerke, doth receyve towards his lyvynge.

"Ornaments, plate, juells, goods, and catalls merly apperteynynge to the said free chaple, ther ar none, for yt ys serued w^t^ thornaments of the said churche."

In another chantry certificate,† the following further particulars are given:—

"The free chapel or hospital of St. John the Baptist there, situate within the parish of St. Leonard, one furlong from

* Title-deeds. † Augmentation Office, Roll 3, No. 3.

the church, and founded by the inhabitants of the said town to the intent to have a priest to say mass in the said chapel only upon St. John's Day, is worth by year in lands and tenements as appeareth by the survey, £9 15*s.* 8*d.*

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Whereof in rents resolute by the year ...	3	15	8
Tithe to the parson of St. Leonard ...	0	10	0
By the year	£4	5	8

"And there remaineth to Richard Adeane, clerk, being of the age of thirty-nine years, meet to serve the cure, and having beside this £5 10*s.* at a chantry in Reading, and is meet to keep cure.

"Goods appertaining to the same, none."

It has been remarked by Man, in his manuscript annals, that this hospital was appropriated for the reception and maintenance of persons afflicted with leprosy; but it is far from probable that patients suffering under such a terrible infection were allowed to enter an institution which was situated just without the south gate, in a part of the town that may be supposed to have had a considerable population. The endowment in the reign of Edward I. was for "poor men and women," which certainly favours the assumption, because hospitals were seldom endowed, like the Savoy, for the reception of persons of both sexes, except for the leprosy. There can be little doubt that the patients were sent to the hospital of "St. Marye Maudlyn," in Newnham Murren, on the other side of the river, which was in connection with St. John's, and is known to have been a hospital for lepers, although no mention of such a purpose is made in the certificate of the commissioners in the time of Henry VIII., of which the following is a copy:—

"One free chaple of Marye Maudlyn, founded by Thenhabytants of the towne of Wallyngforde (as y^{t} ys supposed) to thentent to have a prest to saye masse yerely w^{t}in the said chaple vpon Mary Maundelyn's daye, which ys observed accordingly.

"The said free chaple ys sytuate w^{t}in the parishe of Newnam, one quarter of a myle.

"The value of the lands and tenements belongynge to y^{e}

said free chaple, xxx^{s}, whiche ys imployed towards the fyndynge of Richard a Deane, prest there.

"Ornaments, plate, juells, goods, and catalls merly apperteynynge to the said free chaple, ther ar none, for yt ys served w^{t} thornaments of the said parishe churche."

In the middle ages, nearly every burgh had its hospital for lepers, its spittal or lazar-house, which those affected by this loathsome malady were obliged by law to enter, or else to seclude themselves entirely from society. It is not likely that a place so important as Wallingford was at this period, would have been without its lazar-house, and it is equally unlikely that the inhabitants of the town would have erected a hospital beyond the limits of their jurisdiction, except for the reception of infectious cases; besides, there was a sort of legal obligation on public bodies to provide such institutions, and although they were to a great extent charitable and religious, a levy of a large amount was made on the people for their support. Still, the fund thus raised was insufficient for the general relief, so prevalent was the disease, and consequently the hopelessly irrecoverable leper was left to starve, or else to eke out a wretched existence in a solitary place, with such precarious protection as was afforded from casual alms.* Even such silent action soon gave place to more violent means to stamp out the foul destroyer. The disease increased with frightful rapidity, which created a panic; the miserable leper was accused of poisoning the wells, and deemed, as a well-poisoner, to be a traitor to the king. Many on this plea were condemned to the flames.† About the commencement of the fourteenth century nearly 1320 lepers were burnt alive in this country, particularly in Jersey, under the crown of England.‡

According to the tenor of various old civil codes and local enactments, when a person became affected by leprosy, which was considered to be almost, if not quite, incurable, he was held to be legally and politically dead, and lost the privileges belonging to his right of citizenship. The Church also took the same view, derived no doubt from the Mosaic law, and was equally stringent.

* Hollinshed, Strutt; Henry Macpherson.

† "Natura Brevium," p. 534, 8th edit., 1755. ‡ Exchequer Rolls.

In the reign of Edward III. the number of lepers appears to have been more alarming than at any other period, but at length the time came when this awful visitation was stayed, by, as is generally supposed, a slight change in the diet of the people. Until the end of the reign of Henry VIII. no salads or edible roots were produced in England. The sudden introduction of garden vegetables, and the liberal use of them, gave to the human system a new life, and did for leprosy what medical skill could not accomplish. In the reign of Elizabeth the plague had so much declined, that the officers appointed under the act of Edward I., by the name of proctors, to collect the gifts of the charitable for the support of the lazar-house, were declared rogues and vagabonds for continuing their calling, and punishable accordingly. This was enacted by the 39 Elizabeth, on the ground that the system led to abuse.

Presentations to this hospital and that of St. Mary Magdalene, were, according to entries in the corporation ledger, made by the mayor, burgesses, and commonalty of Wallingford, in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Lovell, K.G., Edmund Ashfield, Esquire, and William Young, gentleman, one of the burgesses.

St. Nicholas.

A full account of the chapel of the College of St. Nicholas within the third dyke of the castle has been already given.

It appears there was attached to this college a school for singing boys, to which Thomas Tusser, the author of "The 500 Points of Good Husbandry" was sent in the early part of the sixteenth century. In his "author's life," he complains bitterly of the hard blows, and scanty fare, to which he was subjected :—

> "What robes now bare, what college fare!
> What bread now stale, what penny ale!
> Then Wallingford, how wert thou abhorr'd
> Of silly boys!"

St. Lucian

Is described to be a church five poles southward of the almshouse; and that the ground which "the minister of Wallingford paid for" extended as far as the knowl in the footpath

leading to Winterbrook. This is consistent with the grant before mentioned, which refers to the "Mill ditch" as a boundary of the parish of St. Lucian, which parish is described to have been opposite the corn-market. It appears that this church, and that of St. Leonard, with all their appurtenances, were given by King Henry I. to the monastery of St. Frideswide, now Christ's Church, in Oxford. See his charter, "Monasticon Anglicanum," tom. ii. p. 145. This grant was confirmed by King John as follows:—

"A.D. 1199.* Know ye that we have granted, and by this our present charter have confirmed to God and the church of Saint Fretheswide, and the canons there serving God, the church of Saint Fretheswide in Oxford, where the house of the aforesaid canons is established, with the chapel and its appurtenances. All their other churches in Oxford, all their lands in the city of Oxford, and without the town of Winchedun, with their appurtenances, and the church of the same town. Two hides of land beyond the eastern bridge of Oxford with their appurtenances, two hides of land in Cudeslawe with their appurtenances, Beneseia with its appurtenances, Edeveton with its appurtenances. In Tumuleia one hide of land and a half with appurtenances. The church of Wurmehal with its appurtenances. The church of Fretewell with its appurtenances, their own churches of Wallingford with their appurtenances, their lands within the borough of Wallingeford and without. In Multon, five virgates of land with their appurtenances. In Hocton, one mill with its appurtenances. In Eton, one mill with its appurtenances. The tithes of the lordship of Gersindon. In Drainton, one virgate of land with its appurtenances. In Rollendrit, three virgates of land and one *cotsellam*, † with appurtenances. In Cherchell, one virgate of land with its appurtenances, and two garbs of the lordship in the name of tithes, and the tithe of hay of the same lordship. In Coveleia, one half hide of land with its appurtenances. In Elsefeld, one virgate of land and three acres with appurtenances, and from the mill of the same town iiij^{s}. The chapel of Escot with its appurtenances. Langelei, and Wivelesei, and Hakelingoft, and Goderichescroft, and Refham, and half a virgate of land with its appur-

* Charter Roll, 1 John, m. 8; Public Record Office.

† A cottage or farm.

tenances. In Hanhedindon (Hedinden), one virgate of land in Berton—their fair in Oxford, as the charters of the donors reasonably witness, &c.

"Witness: R., Bishop of St. Andrew, William, Earl of Arundel, Hugh de Gornace, William de Rupibus, Walter, son of Godfrey.

"Dated by the hands of Simon, Archdeacon of Wells, and John de Gray, at Chinor, 29th day of September, in the first year of our reign."

The four following churches were clearly parochial. The three now existing bear the respective names of the parishes within which they are situate, and the other. All Saints or Allhallows, which was destroyed about 1643, was the church of the parish now bearing the latter name.

St. Mary-the-More.

This church occupies the south side of the market-place, the two houses that once separated it therefrom, and which belonged to the corporation, having been removed many years ago, and the ground on which they stood having been added to the churchyard; one of these houses, a wooden stuccoed structure of four or five rooms, with a roof of lead, was held for a long term by an inhabitant of the town, named Edward Cooper, as lessee, whose engineering skill enabled him to transfer on wheels his cherished home entire to Castle Street, where it still remains; but its occupant has lately passed away, at the good old age of nearly eighty.

The first mention I find of this church is in Dugdale's "Monasticon," whereby it appears that shortly after the Conquest "half the rights of the church of St. Mary" were added, with other property, to the abbey of St. Albans. In the list of benefactors to the monastery appended to the first volume of Clutterbuck's "History of Hertfordshire," p. 33, a more particular reference is made to this church in connection with the abbey, and it is therein called St. Mary and Christ Church; but the following extract does not bear out this union of names:—"Nigellus de Albeneio et Amicia uxor ejus dederunt huic ecclesiæ villam de Henred et ecclesiam Christi de Walyngforde, et dimidiam aliam in honorem Sanctæ Mariæ consecratam, et Estwellam." Thus the gift to the church was the town of Henred and the church of Christ at Walling-

ford, and half another consecrated to the honor of St. Mary, and Estwell. King Henry confirmed this gift to the abbey.

List of church ornaments delivered to John Adene, mayor, 20th January, 1551, 4 Edward VI. Appeared before the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and constables, Christofer Lawrence and John Barker, churchwardens of St. Mary-the-More, and delivered the following ornaments of the church :*—

"1 Chalice, called the best chalice of St. Mary's, with a paten clean gilt, weighing 20 oz. Item, 1 pix of silver, also weighing 6 oz. and a quarter. Item, 1 pix clean gilt, weighing 9 oz. of silver and a quarter. Total 35 oz. and a half, delivered into the hands of William Dill."

This looks very like that system of peculation, by the corporate body, which, at the above date, was so common among those who were brought into contact with church goods. To check the practice, enlarged powers were given to commissioners, who were appointed by the crown for the different counties, to make a survey and inventory of all "goods, plate, juells, vestyments, bells, and other ornaments within every parish, belonging or in any wise apperteynyng to any churche, chapell, brothered, gylde, or fraternity." From the commission for Berkshire, said to be dated May, 1552, the inventory hereafter given emanated.

On 16th January, 1553, 6 Edward VI., another commission was issued, one of the objects being to compel all persons who had sold, bought, embezzled, withdrawn, or concealed any of the said goods, etc., to make satisfaction and payment for the same "to the king's use." This may have given rise to the following entry in the ledger under date 21st March, 1554:— "St. Mary's plate sold for £9 9*s.* 5*d.*, in the hands of the mayor and others, always to be paid to the use of . . . St. Mary's when and at all times it shall be required," etc.

In August, 1553, a few months before the above entry, Christopher Lawrence and John Barker, the churchwardens before mentioned, being then in office, the commissioners delivered to them an inventory of church goods, enjoining them safely to keep and preserve the same, to be forthcoming at all times when required. It would appear that the formal delivery of the goods enumerated in this inventory, in the presence of the mayor, had taken place some time previously;

* Corporation Ledger, p. 60.

the date given by Mr. Walter Money in his book on church goods is 6th August, 6 Edward VI.:—

INVENTORY.

"Three belles in the steple and one sanctus bell . . . challices of sylver and percell gylte w^{t} one pyxe of coper, two copes whereof one of them ys chaungeable sylke and the other of blacke fustyane napes, thre vestymentes wherof one of them ys grene velvet, the seconde of whyte sylke, and the thryde of ffustyane napes w^{t} their albes apperteignynge and belonginge to the same, one paull clothe of blacke ffustyane napes w^{t} one paynted clothe for a border before the hyghe alter, iiij^{or} banner clothes, vj peces of lynyne good and badd, two small candlestyckes of brasse, and one senser of brasse, one holy water pott of brasse, one crosse of brasse, three corporaces w^{t} iij cases wherof one of them ys grene, the ij^{de} whyte, and the iij^{de} ffustyane napes, w^{t} ij^{o} surplices, and iij^{li} vj^{s} viii^{d} in redye mony."

The list of incumbents, *post*, shows that due provision was made for spiritual ministration in the parish, from the year 1311 to the year 1380, and subsequently to 1657, in regular succession. No record of any institution in the interval has been found, and it is probable the parish was served by the monks of the priory.

In the *Parish Magazine* for the month of April, 1880, is a reference to a collection for this parish by virtue of a brief. These briefs, after the Reformation, were issued by the king in place of the pope, and directed to the archbishops, bishops, clergy, magistrates, churchwardens, and overseers of the poor throughout England, requiring these to assist in the miscellaneous collections which were made under the title of "briefs." So greatly were the powers thus acquired abused and evaded, that the Act of 9 George IV. cap. 92 (1829) was passed, which repealed the then existing law, and authorized the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to issue king's or queen's letters to make collections for the building or repairing of churches and schools only. A great number of these "briefs" are recorded in our books from 1637 to 1710, and one of the earliest entries refers to the church of St. Mary. It runs thus—

"Collected upon a briefe for the parish church of St.

Mary Mawr (le More), of the towne of Wallingforde, in the county of Berks., rent from topp to bottom by an extraordinary storme of thunder and lightning, happening upon Assention-day at night, 1638, the sume of two shillings and eightpence."

The damage done to the church was probably confined to the tower, the building of which, as appears by the inscription mentioned hereafter, was completed in 1653. The parish register, containing entries of baptisms in 1638 and several following years, appears to show that the body of the church was not destroyed.

Cromwell, towards the close of the Commonwealth, made St. Mary's the "Mother Church" of a union of parishes, and annexed to it, *inter alia*, the tithes of the three other town parishes, namely, St. Leonard's, St. Peter's, and Allhallows, as stated in a former chapter; rather a rich endowment for that time, and far exceeding its present revenue. From this circumstance it may be inferred that St. Mary's was the only church in the town which escaped material injury from the belligerents during the civil war. It is doubtful how long this union of parishes continued. In the baptismal register of St. Mary's, Daniel Bevan is described as "Rector de Wallingford" in 1665 and 1666. In the register of incumbents he is styled in 1672 "Rector of St. Mary's." Robert Townsend is mentioned as Incumbent of St. Leonard's in 1681, and Samuel Shenstone's name appears as rector of that parish in 1691, of St. Mary's in 1699, and of St. Peter's from 1711 to 1721.

Near the end of the reign of William III., it was in contemplation to effect a union of the three rectories above named under the statute then in force, as appears by the petition from the corporation, a copy of which is subjoined; but what further action was taken and what the result was does not appear.

"We, the mayor, burgesses, and commonalty of the burrough of Wallingford, in the county of Berks, doe hereby certiffie that the true and full valuation of the rectory of St. Leonard, within the said burrough, with the chappellery of Sotwell annext, is yearely about fifty pounds one yeare with another. That the true valuation of the rectory of St. Maries within the said burrough is yearly about five pounds

one yeare with another. And that the full and true valuation of the rectory of St. Peter's within the said burrough, is yearely about eleven pounds, one yeare with another. And we doe hereby declare that we are contented and desirous, and doe give our consent that the said rectories may be united according to severall Acts of Parliament made for the uniting of parishes of a small vallue, and we humbly pray that the same may be united accordingly. In witness whereof we have hereunto affixed the common seale of our said burrough, this 23rd day of January, 1693."

At the west end of the church is a handsome, square embattled tower, composed of faced free stone intermixed with flints, and ornamented at each angle with four pinnacles symmetrically worked in stone, and furnished with eight bells. On the north side of the tower, at a considerable height from the ground, and now obscured from view by the side aisle, which in 1854 was added to the church, is a margined stone slab fixed in the wall, on which in bas-relief is represented a knight on horseback in complete armour, with an escutcheon on his breast. He appears to be in the act of fording a somewhat tempestuous river, with a drawn sword in his hand. This stone, according to local tradition, was taken from one of the gates of the castle at the time of its demolition, and the knight represented is said to have been King Stephen ; but it is difficult to discover any special reason for thus doing honour to one who had no particular connection with the town, or even with the castle, except as an enemy, having twice laid siege to it in vain. It may be supposed, with more probability, that it was intended to represent the figure of Henry II., his competitor for the crown, who was received within the castle walls during the contest between the rival sovereigns, and towards whom the inhabitants showed an amount of loyalty which afterwards secured to them the great and exceptional privileges conferred by King Henry. But according to others the figure represents Richard, King of the Romans, and Earl of Cornwall, who held possession of the town by the gift of his brother Henry III., and spent vast sums upon it and the castle, made the latter his residence, and by his munificence and expenditure raised the town to a position of splendour and opulence which it had never before enjoyed. It is therefore by no means

unlikely that the inhabitants might have testified their sense of gratitude by thus handing down to posterity the sculptured effigy of their great benefactor. But whoever may have been intended, the same feeling of respect and devotion was displayed by the corporation of the day, for their corporate seal, which has been handed down to the present time, bears an effigy similar to that on the ancient stone memorial. (See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 249.)

The following inscription appears on an oak slab which was taken out of the wall of the belfry on the north side, on an opening being made in 1868 to receive the new illuminated clock:—"T B N L 1649."

On a stone in the projecting circular buttment at the south-west corner of the tower, about seven feet from the ground, is inscribed—"Will Loader, 1653."

This William Loader was a builder in the town of some repute, and mayor in 1647, when he was dismissed by an ordinance of the Long Parliament.

It is probable the tower was built and the fabric repaired about the year 1653, with the materials from the Castle, which was demolished the year before. Each of the four pinnacles that surmount the tower at the angles bears a carved representation of a crown in stone, which, according to the tradition of the townspeople, was brought from the ruins of the Castle, and erected by the inhabitants of the town, at the period of the Restoration, to mark their wonted loyalty on that occasion. Cromwell had certainly no great love for the crown, which, like its symbol, he would regard as a bauble; and it is not likely, therefore, that these emblems of royalty were erected in his time. An interval of seven years had elapsed between the supposed date of the erection of the tower and the restoration of Charles II., and the probability is that these pinnacles were added after the tower had been completed, and after the death of the usurper. This view is borne out by an inspection of the carved stonework which forms the base of the pinnacles, and which appears to have been lodged on the angles, and fastened to the original structure.

In one of the Quarterly Reports of the Incorporated Church Building Society is an illustration of the church, and it is stated, "in the application to the society, it is said that the church appears to have been built in the fifteenth century."

The church must have been in existence long before this time. The preceding extract from Dugdale would carry us back to the eleventh or twelth century.

The massive timber beams of Spanish chestnut or oak, to which the bells are attached, appear from their ornamental mouldings also to have been brought from the Castle. Over the stage, the upper part of a piscina may be observed, built into the wall of the belfry on the west side. The bells are highly finished, and the casting of some of them gives the names of the makers:—"Rich$^{d.}$ Phelps; T. Lester, Lon., Fecit, 1738." On one of the bells the name "Coningham" is cast.

Monuments.

The church contains several mural monuments. On the north wall of the chancel is one of grey marble, with Ionic pillars supporting a circular pediment, under which are the family arms.

"In memory of Thomas Renda, of Wallingford Castle, Esquire, who, having served in several Parliaments for this borough, died March 15, 1722, aged 62. . . ."

Near the above is a handsome marble monument to the memory of John Cottingham, Esquire, who died November 4, 1746, and of his wife Elizabeth, "sole daughter and heiress of Richard Bigg, of Wallingford, Esquire, sometime representative in Parliament for that corporation."

The memory of Walter Bigg, Esq. who was a liberal benefactor to the town, is perpetuated by the following inscription on a monument of singular design, on the wall at the west end of the church:—

"Here lyeth interred the body of Walter Bigg, Esquire, Alderman of the City of London, and (to his greater honour be it spoken) a faithful servant of the Lord, a worthy patron of learned, godly, and faithful ministers, a great lover of this his native place and country. As some testimonie whereof he bequeathed the summe of twenty pounds yearly to y^{e} burrough of Wallingford; that is to say, ten pounde towards a free school, and ten pounde towards the reliefe of ten of the poor of the said burrough. He having run his race and served his generation with much fidelity, constancy, and sincerity, full of a lively faith and hope, departed from this life to

a better, from the society of creatures to the Creator, of Christians to Christ, of men to angels, of sinners to saints and the spirits of just men made perfect, August 5th, An. Dom. 1659, Ætatis suæ 53."

A neat mural tablet of grey marble, surrounding an oval slab of statuary marble surmounted by an urn, records in the following inscription the loss the town sustained in 1808 by the death of the Rev. Thomas Pentycross :—

"Sacred to the memory of the Rev. Thomas Pentycross, thirty-four years rector of this parish, who departed this life, February 8th, 1808, aged 59.

"His time, talents, and profound erudition were humbly laid at the feet of his Saviour, and zealously employed in promoting the best interests of his people. No emolument could tempt him to desert his congregation over whom the Lord had placed him; and his whole life may be considered as one continual effort to promote the glory of God and the conversion of sinners. His success was abundant, and his name will be transmitted to posterity with respect and gratitude. He persevered in preaching the doctrine of salvation by the merits of a Redeemer till his strength failed him, and closed a valuable and useful life, exulting in the glorious truths he had so long and so ably recommended to his people. His mortal remains are deposited near this tablet, erected to his memory by an affectionate and grateful congregation."

There is a marble slab on the north wall which records the death of Henry Stampe on the 8th day of October, 1619, "son of Isabel, the daughter to Sir Michael Molyns, Knight, of Clapcote."

List of Rectors.

Richard Mortor	1312
Alexander de Whithamstede	1325
William Heroun	1325
Richard Markham	1334
Ralph de Aston Somervill	1339
Nicholas Langele	1340
John Irenmongere, in exchange with Nicholas Langele	1346
Richard, commonly called the "Scolmaister"	
Alan de Wynpole	1376

John Baghurst	1379
John Toydelfeyde	1386
We have no further account of the rectors before the middle of the seventeenth century, except Sir Thomas Williams (Corporation Ledger)	1517
Thomas Pickney	1658
Daniel Bevan	1672
Samuel Shenstone	1699
John Foreman	1705
Thomas Norton	
Robert Hughes (he died in 1761)	
Robert Wintle	1762
Robert Kirke appears as "Minister" ...	1763
Thomas Pentycross	1774
Edward Barry, D.D.	1808
John Bradford	1822
John Langley	1829
Thomas Bowles, curate-in-charge	1872
Charles Faunce Thorndike, cum Allhallows	1873
Charles Andrew Raymond	1880

In the year 1813 a cause was tried in the Court of Exchequer, wherein the above-named Dr. Barry was plaintiff, and Charles Atherton Allnatt defendant. The question for decision was whether the plaintiff, as rector, was entitled to the tithes of about fifty acres of land, part of a farm called the Priory Farm, which is situate in the parishes of St. Mary and All Saints, and which the defendant rented under a lease. These tithes had been withheld from former rectors on the plea that the lands had never been tithed, and were not liable to be so, but only to a small annual payment by way of *modus*, or compensation for tithes. The plaintiff, however, refused the *modus*, and filed his bill for the tithe, or rather brought his action; when, after the witnesses and the counsel had been heard on both sides, the chief baron decided in favour of the plaintiff, whereby the rector's right to the tithes of the land in question was established.

The churchwardens' account-book commences in the year 1657, during Cromwell's usurpation, at which time and subsequently the crime of drunkenness and other minor breaches

of the law were punished by small fines being imposed on the offenders. Frequent cases of the sort are recorded in the churchwardens' accounts; for instance—

		£	s.	d.
1657.	Received of William Cook for being drunk	0	5	0
,,	Received of Adam Constable for convictions for breach of law ...	1	1	4
,,	Received of Thomas Emery for being drunk	0	5	0
,,	Received of John Bulley, constable, for being drunk on a journey ...	1	0	0

Though they were thus strict in punishing deviations from decency and decorum, yet they were not very rigid when their own indulgences were concerned, or we should not at the same time have found the parishioners charged with the sum of one shilling for tobacco consumed at their meetings; neither were the virtues of charity carried by these puritanical distributors of Church bounty to a very extravagant extreme, for in connection with this charge of one shilling for tobacco there is another for fourpence for passes for two poor men.

A little further insight into the lucubrations of our parochial potentates of the seventeenth century—for I presume their meetings were nocturnal—would have been amusing, if not edifying; but the records of the vestrymen have been lost or mislaid, and we are left to imagine how genius and geniality some two centuries ago went hand in hand, under the all-important presidency of the churchwarden, with his inevitable long pipe.

Parish Registers.

The parish registers have shared a better fate than the churchwarden's book, and are pretty well preserved, but as books of legal record they are very defective.

Baptismal Register.

The register of baptisms for this parish commences in 1638. Book No. 1 embraces a period of seventy-four years, and contains the record of eighty-two baptisms only.

The list below contains the number of baptisms recorded in each year subsequently to 1672 :—

Year.	Number	Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.
1673	3	1688	1	1703	4
1674	1	1689	1	1705	2
1675	3	1690	2	1706	2
1677	3	1691	1	1707	1
1678	2	1693	3	1708	2
1679	2	1695	1	1709	1
1681	2	1697	1	1710	1
1684	1	1700	2	1711	6
1686	1	1701	1		

It is not to be assumed that the rite of baptism was unobserved during the above period, but we may infer that there was great neglect in recording the names of the persons baptized.

From the year 1762 to 1767 inclusive, parishioners of the parish of St. Peter were baptized in the parish church of St. Mary's, and among the number are some of the children of the late Sir William Blackstone.

Register of Marriages.

The register of marriages commences in the year 1653, and the number solemnized in each year from 1653 to 1661 inclusive, was as follows :—The proportion as compared with the recorded baptisms is something approaching ten to one. With a single exception, all the marriages were solemnized either before the mayor or a justice of the peace for the borough; in the excepted case, "Mr. Thomas Pinkney, minister of St. Marie's Church," officiated.

Year.	No. of marriages.	Year.	No. of marriages.
1653	1	1658	4
1654	12	1659	8
1655	29	1660	3
1656	22	1661	2
1657	12		

The single entry in 1653 is dated in the month of February, which, according to the old style, would be in the month preceding that of the end of the year, and may

account for there not having been more entries in the book commencing apparently at that time.

There is a record of marriages solemnized in the parish church of St. Leonard, in the years 1690, 1691, and 1695, which is corroborative of the statement previously made, that the latter church was only partially destroyed during the rebellion, and not, as some have considered, entirely laid in ruins.

In the year 1692, the marriages of persons from Benson, St. Mary's, and St. Peter's, were solemnized at Sotwell, which was a chapelry attached to the parish church of St. Leonard.

The Register of Burials

Commences in 1671, and appears to have been very imperfectly kept.

The following entry refers to the ferry at Shillingford, which seems to show that there was no bridge at that place in 1678:—

"Will^{m} Alcorne was buried May 17, 1678. The said William was drowned att Shillingford Ferry by rowing over himself; his horse, leaping out of the boat, threw him into y^{e} river, as was testifyed by two boys y^{t} stood on y^{e} shore."

The living of St. Mary is a discharged rectory, rated in the king's books at £4. It was formerly in the gift of the Lord Chancellor, but the Bishop of Oxford is now the patron.

Efforts have not been wanting from time to time to increase the endowment and enlarge and improve the church.

During the incumbency and by the exertions of the Rev. Thomas Pentycross, this "poor living" was augmented by a sum of about £1800, of which £1000 were raised by voluntary contributions, and the remainder was contributed by the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty. Of this sum, £1450 were invested in the purchase of freehold land at Englefield near Reading, and at Cholsey near Wallingford. The land at Englefield, called Piper's Farm, has recently been sold, and the purchase money, with the sum of £151 10*s.* 6*d.* paid by the late rector for dilapidations, has been invested in the names of the governors in trust for the living, and is now represented by the sum of £1750 18*s.* in the Reduced £3 per Cent. Annuities.

The inscription on the tablet in St. Mary's Church records the high opinion the parishioners entertained of Mr. Pentycross, who was so long their rector. He was a man of mark, not only in Wallingford, but in the adjoining counties; and in my younger days his name and fame still lived in the grateful recollection of his surviving parishioners, who never spoke of him but with sentiments of regard and affection. He was educated at Christ's Hospital, where he attracted notice as a scholar. His attainments and love of Shakespeare led him to form his little company of actors among the boys of the foundation, the principal character being generally sustained by himself. After a time his dramatic knowledge and conversational talent secured to him the friendship of Mrs. Siddons and a large number of friends, and his elocution as an actor seemed to mark him out for the stage. Suddenly a change took place in his conduct and pursuits, he became a member of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he took his degree, and entered into holy orders about the year 1771. The inscription on the tablet gives an insight into his after life.

The church was repaired and enlarged in the year 1854 at a cost of £2484 14*s.* 7*d.*, under a faculty, dated 3rd September, 1853, for "authorizing the taking down of all the Pews, removing the Tombs and Monuments, and restoring and enlarging the Church." It contains 500 sittings for the poorer inhabitants: and provision is made in the faculty for sittings for sixty-four persons to be assigned to the rector and his successors, "such number being equal," it is recited, "to the number the Rector now possesses in the Church." By the liberality of the late rector, the Rev. Charles Faunce Thorndike, these sittings were placed at the free and gratuitous disposal of the parishioners, and they have been so continued by the present rector, the Rev. Charles Andrew Raymond.

Of the above amount the sum of £1859 3*s.* 5*d.* was collected by voluntary contributions, leaving a deficiency of £625 11*s.* 2*d.* as a charge on the rates, to be paid off by annual instalments. In the year 1878 this sum was discharged; and the house property on the east and west of, and belonging to the church, which was included in the mortgage as a collateral security, has, with the exception of the premises inaptly called the Rectory, in the occupation of Mr. Wood,

been sold by auction under the authority of the Charity Commissioners, and the net proceeds, amounting to £1855 8*s.* 2*d.* paid to them as official trustees.

The churchyard has twice undergone enlargement and improvement. On the first occasion, some seventy or eighty years ago, a public road which ran through it, and connected Fish Street and St. Martin's Street, was stopped up and added to the burial ground. In about the year 1826, on the removal of the houses previously mentioned, an enlargement took place on the north side, and the iron railing which now surrounds it was then erected.

The present illuminated clock was fixed on the north side of the tower in 1868, at a cost of about £230, raised by voluntary contributions. Its handsome dial occupies a place in the tower much higher than that of the worn-out clock for which the new one was substituted; but the double-arched open window which afforded the only escape for the sound on the north side, and through which the sonorous chimes of the old clock were very generally heard, has now been so effectually blocked up, that even the heavy hammer on the tenor bell is powerless to remind the inhabitants on the north of the Market Place that "another hour is gone;" while the reverberation within the tower, and even in the church, is unpleasantly increased.

Recent efforts have successfully resulted in adding to the endowment a capital sum of about £1650, a perpetual annuity of £35, and tithe rent charges of the gross commuted annual value of £30 5*s.*, as particularized in the introductory remarks to Part II. Further subscriptions to the amount of about £800 have lately been promised towards the erection of a rectory house, on a site near the Grammar School.

Interior of the Church in 1818.

The following description of the interior of the church, taken from Man's MS., may not be uninteresting, as affording a marked contrast between that period and the present.

"The nave is of considerable extent, and the aisles on each side are separated from it by neat octangular pillars. Over the aisles and at the west end of the nave handsome galleries have been erected for the accommodation of the parishioners; and at the east end, over the communion table, is the organ-

loft, furnished with a small but neat organ, lately erected by subscription. In the front of the gallery is a tablet with the following inscription in gold letters: 'St. Mary's, Wallingford, the 24th of August, 1809. This organ was erected to the praise and worship of Almighty God, by voluntary contributions from the parishioners and others, in the mayoralty of Robert Dalzell, Esquire.' And then follows a list of contributions, headed by Colonel Hughes, M.P. for the borough, £50, and showing a total of £171 6s.

"'Praise Him with stringed instruments and organs.

"'Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord. Psalm cl.'

"The chancel is connected with the body of the church, there being no screen to separate them, as in most if not in all other churches: and the pews for the accommodation of the parishioners are continued quite up to the communion table, which not only contracts the space allowed to the communicants, but takes away that solemn effect which strikes the imagination of the spectator when viewing the holy table in other churches. The communion table is enclosed with a wainscot balustrade, including a small space sufficient only to accommodate a few at a time. At the back of the table is a neat altar-piece of wainscot, with the usual paintings of Moses and Aaron on each side, as large as life. The figures are well executed, and are the gift of Edward Polhampton, and dated in the year 1770.

"Another inscription in front of the balustrades is as follows:—

"'This table and rails are the gift of Edward Reade, Esq^re^, of Waltham Abbey, 1687.'

"The pews are very neat; those within the nave are of wainscot, those in the aisles of deal only. Under the tower is the vestry-room, where the business concerning the affairs of the parish is transacted: and within the entrance of the south door is a screen, serving as a vestibule. The church is lighted by several windows which are kept in excellent repair.

"On the floor of the middle aisle, and in front of the altar, is a freestone slab which had been inlaid with a brass plate, but which with the inscription upon it has been taken away."

And now in course of construction, are the painted east window, which is to take the place of the broken glass and

patched-up colouring of the existing window; and the Gothic reredos, which is to supplant the inappropriate tinsel screen, in memory of a dear and only son whose remains lie interred in the family vault on the south side of the church. Taken away from us with little warning, at the age of thirty-five years, how aptly do the solemn words apply: "In the midst of life, we are in death"!

The Church of St. Leonard

Is situate at the south-east end of the town, near the river and the Lower Wharf, in a street formerly called Little Fish Street, but now known as St. Leonard's Church Lane. It is supposed to have been a Saxon church, destroyed by the Danes, and to have been afterwards rebuilt, soon after the Norman Conquest. If the church existed in the time of the Saxons, it is hardly to be expected that it escaped in the eleventh century,* when it is recorded the town was *entirely* destroyed by the Danes.

It is undoubtedly an ancient edifice, composed of a rough rubble stone and flints intermixed, and coated with stucco on the outside. Mr. J. H. Parker, of Oxford, who has recently visited the church, is of opinion that it was built or restored in the eleventh century, probably by Robert d'Oyley, who married the daughter of the wealthy and powerful Wigod of Wallingford, and who is known to have been a great restorer of churches. The architecture agrees with that of the D'Oyley period. The two arches in the chancel exhibit interesting Norman work of the diaper flat and knob pattern, which, according to Mr. Parker, is not to be found at Oxford, nor in any other church within the diocese.

This church, with that of St. Lucien previously described, was given by King Henry I. to the monastery of St. Frideswide, now Christ Church in Oxford, as appears by his charter.†

"St. Leonard's, Wallingford. Exchequer, Q. R., Church goods, Berks.

"This inventory indented, made the second day of August, 6 Edw. VI., between the Commissioners of our said Sovereign, for the view of all goods, plate, jewels, bells,

* A.D. 1006. † "Monasticon Anglicanum," tom. ii., p. 145.

and ornaments, to every church and chapel within the said County of Berks belonging or in any wise appertaining, of the one part, and Richard Butler and Thomas Huste, Church Wardens of the parish and Church of S. Leonard, in Wallingford, in the said county of the other part; Witnesseth that the said Commissioners have delivered by these presents to the said churchwardens all parcels hereafter particularly written, namely—one chalice of silver parcel gilt, three altar clothes, one corporax, one pyxe of lattene, three vestments with albes and other things belonging thereto, two copes, two towels, one surplice, one candlestick of lattene, one cross of copper, three bells, and three painted clothes before the altar.

"And all the said parcels safely to be kept and preserved, and the same and every parcel thereof to be forthcoming at all times hereafter when it shall be required.

"In witness, etc.

"Richard Simond."

During the siege of Wallingford the church was converted into barracks for the soldiers, and greatly injured, the south aisle and original apse having, it is said, been entirely destroyed by fire. After having laid many years in a dilapidated condition, it was repaired and restored in Queen Anne's reign, and reopened for divine service about Michaelmas, 1704. It appears, however, by the disbursements in the churchwarden's accounts, that some slight repairs were executed in 1685 and 1695, and in 1700 the sum of ten pounds was ordered to be expended towards the repewing of the church, to be defrayed by a rate; and in 1705, at the Easter vestry-meeting, "Mr. Payne and Mr. Penn, the performing Churchwardens, passed their accounts for a twelvemonth's Rate, that was made for pewing the north side of the Church and other charges," which in the whole amounts to £16 15*s.* 8*d.* These accounts do not disclose a large expenditure, out of the rates, for its reparation; but the entries are brief and give few particulars, beyond the balance due to or from the churchwardens.

Messrs. Lyson state that the church appears, by the arches n its south wall, to have been much reduced from its original size by the dilapidations which it sustained in the civil war. Skermer, who wrote his MS. about 170 years ago, agrees with

them that the church was formerly a larger structure; and he adds, "the colour of the stone pillars plainly show it to have been burnt, which pillars also show that it hath been much wider. One of the doors," he says, "is remarkable for being not in the Gothic, but Saxon style, as is also the screen between the church and chancel. This church was considered by a late antiquarian, who visited it, a very ancient church of the Saxon style, but of the rudest architecture."

It has been erroneously stated that this church was entirely destroyed during the civil war; the destruction was partial, as is evident from the appearance of the fabric, the discolouration of the arches by fire, and the entries in the parish registers, previously quoted. In the Churchwardens' accounts for the year 1685, there is a credit of 6*s.* 8*d.* for Mr. Ralph Norton's grave "in the church."

The vestry minute-book commences in 1672, and records the annual appointment of two churchwardens from that time; but the rector's signature is not attached to the minutes till the year 1679, nor does any reference to the rector previously occur.

In 1850 the church was enlarged, and partially restored and repewed; the apse, south aisle, and tower were added; and the graveyard was extended—at the cost of about £1100, which was defrayed by voluntary contributions. The workmen employed state that charred timbers were found, no doubt bearing evidence of the fire lighted by Cromwell's soldiers; and that an old doorway on the south side (probably that in the Saxon style referred to by Skermer) was then removed and taken away; and some fresco work, of a flower pattern, over the first inner arch, and of figures on the south side of the chancel, was discovered, but it was too imperfect to be restored, and was consequently destroyed. On the same side of the chancel there appears to have been a doorway (now blocked up), the lintel of which, in the form of pointed Gothic, is of oak in a solid piece. In the same wall there are also to be traced two twelfth-century windows, which seem to show that the present ones are not the original windows, as they are now placed. The apse occupies the site of the former one, having been built on the old foundations, which are supposed to be Norman; but, as regards its construction, not much can be said for the geometrical skill of the builder,

for proper angles were not observed, and the want of correctness is easily detected by an unpractised eye.

The little chapel of Sotwell, in the neighbouring parish of Brightwell, belonged to this rectory till the year 1868, when it was disannexed and added to the latter parish, by an Order in Council dated the 14th day of May in that year.

The burial ground attached to this church is bounded on the east by the brook, which once formed part of the circumvallation of the town, the ancient entrenchment still remaining in several parts.

This living, like St. Mary's, was formerly in the gift of the Lord Chancellor, but the patronage is now vested in the Bishop of Oxford. It is described as a discharged rectory, valued in the king's books at £7 12*s.* 6*d.* with the church of Sotwell.

The register of "Christnings, marriages, and Burialls, in y^e^ parish of St. Leonard's in Wallingford," commences in 1711. The entries are neatly written on parchment, and the book No. 1, which as respects marriages ends in 1753, and as respects baptisms and burials ends in 1762, is well kept.

The following extracts are taken from the old parish books:—

"Rentes due and payable yearly to the Parish Church of St. Leonard, in Wallingford.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
By the occupiers of a plott of ground called Rack Hill *alias* Norcott Orchard, late occupied by William Cooke, Gent.*	00	10	0
By the occupiers of the house and orchard formerly occupied by John Button, and then by Richard Sayer, Gent.	00	04	2
By the occupyers of a ground called the Cock Orchard.†	00	02	0"

There is no date to the preceding entry, but the next bears date 1648, and William Cooke is called Mayor of Wallingford in 1650. We may assume, therefore, the entry was made about this time.

A terrier follows, "wherein is contained all such lands

* Let, in 1794, at 30*s.* † Let, in 1791, at 15*s.*

and rents as are due and belonging unto the Parish Church of St. Leonard in Wallingford, taken the sixth day of September, 1634, by John Green and Thomas Ely, Churchwardens." It mentions a cottage or dwelling-house lately erected by, and demised to, Thomas Norcott, upon the church land situate on the south side of the mill brook, without the South Gate of Wallingford; and a plot of ground adjoining, containing in length, from the king's highway there leading towards Winterbrook southward, three score and ten yards and a half or thereabouts, and in breadth at the west end sixteen yards or thereabouts, and in breadth at the east end fifteen yards or thereabouts."

A messuage, orchard, and garden, in or near St. John's Green, in the parish of St. Leonard, then in the tenure of John Fowler, at the yearly rent of 12*s.* 6*d.*, abutting upon the said green on the north part; the rent of which premises "hath been anciently divided into three equal parts, viz., one third part to the Borough of Wallingford aforesaid, one other third part to the Great Bridge of Wallingford, and the other third part to the Parish Church of St. Leonard's."

A little piece of ground within the same parish, abutting upon Fish Street on the west, between the land of Richard Cheney on the north, and of John Green on the south and east parts, containing in length, within the mud wall at the west end, twenty-four feet, and in breadth eighteen feet; yearly rent, two shillings, payable to the said church.

A description of the lands belonging to the church, somewhat similar to the foregoing, appears under date of 21st day of December, 1704, and then follows the following memorandum:—

"The Parish having granted Leases of the two pieces of Church land about the year 1668, for 99 years, and the Counterparts of the said Leases being lost and gone, it was with difficulty the Parish could make out their right to the said land.

"But in 1791 the original leases themselves came accidentally to light, and the Parish Authorities have granted new leases of the same; one to Mr. George Absolon for 40 years, at 15*s.* a year rent, from Michaelmas, 1791; and the other to Mr. James Parker for 99 years, at 30*s.* a year rent, from Lady Day, 1794."

Richard Burges, churchwarden for the year 1675, "gave account to the Parishioners of St. Leonard's for himself and Hugh Stacey, deceased, for glass recovered, and there was remaining in his hands 3*s.* 7*d.*, which the Parish allowed him for his care and charges."

Disbursements of the churchwardens for the year 1678.

At Abingdon—	£	*s.*	*d.*
For the booke of Articles	00	1	6
For their dinner	00	4	6
For horse hire and charge there ...	00	1	10
Forrage	00	00	2
For Rich[d] Burgesses day's work ...	00	1	6
For a new Register booke for the burials in Woollen	00	3	4
For writing the Terryer and carrying it to Salsbury	00	1	8
For the Church yard mounds	00	3	6
Totall	00	18	00

The disbursements by the churchwardens are entered thus—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
1694—Church account	6	01	8
Poor charges	6	03	0
1695—Church charges	3	06	4
Poor charges	6	14	0
	22	15	0

Churchwardens' receipts.

1694—Rate made 25th March	6	18	6
1695—Rate made 25th March	6	18	0
	13	16	6

"3rd Feb., 1706. At a meeting of the Inhabitants of this Parish, it is agreed that the fees of the Parish Clark are as followeth :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Imp. For a Knell at a Funerall	0	0	6
For digging a Grave in the Church yard	0	1	0
For digging a Grave in the Church ...	0	2	6
For tolling and attendance at a Funerall	0	0	6

	£	s.	d.
For attendance at a Churching	0	0	6
For attendance at a Marriage	0	1	0
His fee of every Inhabitant of the Parish paying Scot and Lot quarterly at least	0	0	2

"At the same time, elected by the Rector, with the consent of the majority of the Inhabitants, Thomas Toppin to be Parish Clark."

Signed by "Sam$^{l.}$ Shenstone, Rector," and fourteen parishioners.

"13th April, 1732. It was agreed by the Vestry y^{t} every Parishioner should pay two pence p^{r} month to the Poors Reate, who before paid but a peny, or be at liberty to strike himself out of the Rate."

Under date 27th May, 1786, a view was taken of a piece of ground belonging to the church, which had been for several years in the occupation of Mr. John Field. It is set out and bounded in the following manner:—First, nineteen feet and an inch were measured at each end from the almshouse garden, for the breadth of a piece of ground the estate of the said Mr. Field. Next, the length of the said church land was measured, and allowed to be threescore and ten yards and a half from the turnpike road to the east end, and the breadth at the west end sixteen yards, and the same at the east end fifteen yards.

Signed by John Field, the occupier, John Scoolt, rector, the churchwardens, and several parishioners.

1787. "The Church land lies contiguous to the Common Eyott, or Hog Common, belonging to the Corporation, and on the south side of it.

"The said Hog Common is 44 feet wide from the south end of the Wall Gate post to the Brook, and 54 feet wide from the Brook to the Close.

"At the middle, from the Brook to the church ground, the Hog Common is 20 feet and 6 inches: this is near or about the end of the church ground."

April 10, 1811. At a vestry meeting, the lease to George Absolon was delivered up to be cancelled; and it was agreed to grant a lease of the piece of ground abutting upon Fish Street to Mr. John Phillips for the term of 82 years, at the

yearly rent of 15*s.*, to commence from Michaelmas, 1810. This lease will therefore expire in 1892, and that to James Parker before mentioned in 1893.

February 27, 1817. A rate was made "to discharge the expence of repairing the church, possessioning dinner, and other necessary charges," at 1*s.* in the £, amounting to £30 8*s.* 9*d.*

The churchwardens' accounts show that the expense attending the perambulation dinner in 1822, 1825, and 1827 amounted each year to between £5 and £6, and the visitation charges and expenses varied each year from £4 2*s.* to £5 13*s.*

Incumbents of St. Leonard's.

John de Houghton, instituted rector	Nov. 29, 1299
William de Elsfield *	Mar. 9, 1306
Thomas de Arperham *	Feb. 2, 1308
Thomas de Harpham †	1330
Robert Crokeford †	Mar. 4, 1333
Walter de Churchefield, upon the resignation of John Croume, who probably succeeded Crokeford † ...	Jan. 26, 1362
John Bynne de Stanlake †	Mar. 17, 1363

Rectors during the last, and part of the preceding, century.

John Astill, in	1634
Robert Townsend	1679
Samuel Shenstone	1691
Thomas Norton	1721
Robert Hughes	1742
John Scoolt	1757
William Withers	1805
Edward Barry, D.D.	1811
John Bradford	1823
John Langley (resigned in 1872)	1829
W. C. Sayer Milward	1873

The following is Man's description of the church in 1818:—"This church has a small turret or wooden tower at the west end, in which is one bell. At the east end is a window

* Register of Bishop Simon de Gandavo. † Register of Bishop Wyvyle.

with a circular head divided into three compartments, and also a corresponding one at the west end, lately erected at the expense of the Parishioners, except the ornamental pieces of stained glass, which were bestowed by the Rev. Dr. Edward Barry, D.D., the present Rector. The nave of the church is lighted by three other windows, one of which has a pointed, the others square heads. The chancel is divided from the nave by a circular archway springing from two piers in the side walls. The communion table is surrounded by a ballustrade painted of a blue colour; behind the communion table is a neat wainscot altar-piece, inscribed with the ten commandments in gold letters. The original window over the altar-piece appears to have been much larger than the present one, an arch having been formed for it within the wall at the east end of the church, extending to the ceiling, with pillars on each side, fragments of which are still visible. . . .

"In its original state it was much larger than it now is, it having then consisted of the nave, chancel, and two aisles; but of the latter only that on the north side remains. On the south side, there were three large arches or openings in the wall, which separated the nave from the aysle, supported on enormous square pillars; the arches are now bricked up, and form the outward wall of the church on this side. The south aysle is said to have been destroyed by fire, during the siege of the town, in the unfortunate reign of Charles the First, probably through the carelessness of some of the soldiers belonging to the garrison; many instances having occurred during the war of churches having been converted into barracks for the soldiers. That this part of the church has been at some time destroyed by fire there cannot remain a doubt, as in digging lately under the south wall, for the purpose of making a vault, the labourers discovered the foundation of another wall running in a parallel line with it, at the distance of about fourteen feet, and in the intervening space between the two walls, were found considerable remains of burnt wood, among which was a large portion of a beam or some part of the ceiling or roof.

"In the wall at the back of the pulpit is a large nitch with a circular top, apparently intended for the receptacle of an image, perhaps St. Leonard, the patron saint, to whom the

church is dedicated. The entrance door on the north side has a circular head raised on two slender pillars with rude capitals."

St. Peter's

Is a rectory worth about £100 a year with residence. The parish church is situate in Thames Street, near the bridge. The original structure was laid in ruins during the siege by the Parliamentary forces in 1642 or 1643 A.D., and with it "a fine stone building over the west end of the bridge, called Mary Grace." The church was rebuilt A.D. 1769, and the spire erected in 1775, chiefly at the instance of the late Mr. Justice Blackstone, the author of the "Commentaries on the Laws of England," whose country residence, Castle Priory, was situated within this parish, on the banks of the river Thames, and on the south of the church. It is believed much of that learned author's great and lasting work was written within the quiet solitude of its walls. The cost of the erection of the church and spire was £2179 8*s.* 10*d.*

	£	*s.*	*d.*
To meet this expenditure there was collected on two briefs, 33 George II., and 13 George III., the sum of ...	400	7	9
Voluntary subscriptions yielded ...	1645	16	9
Leaving to be defrayed by the parish ...	133	4	4
	£2179	8	10

A parchment roll, carefully preserved in a leather case, and kept in the church chest, gives a list of the subscribers and the details of the expenditure. Among the subscribers to the church, appear the following names:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
John Hervey, Esq., member	200	0	0
Lord Pigot, member	200	0	0
Earl of Abingdon, high steward ...	100	0	0
John Aubrey, Esq., member	100	0	0
Robert Pigot, Esq., member	100	0	0
William Blackstone, Esq., recorder ...	50	0	0
A person unknown	50	0	0
John, Lord Bishop of Winchester ...	21	0	0
Mr. Robert Baker	21	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Mr. John Toovey, town clerk	21	0	0
Mr. William Toovey	21	0	0
Mr. Joseph Tuckwell	21	0	0
Miss Bishop	10	10	0
Henry Fludger, Esq.	10	10	0
Robert Hucks, Esq.	10	10	0
Mrs. Mary Morrell	10	10	0
Mr. James Stracey	10	10	0
Mr. Richard Toovey	10	10	0
Mr. Job Wells	10	10	0

Mr. Cudworth Bruch gave a brass chandelier and chain, both lacquered, to hang in the middle of the church.

EXPENSES.

	£	s.	d.
Expended by Mr. Joseph Tuckwell and Mr. Will. Toovey, between the years 1760 and 1768, in building and covering in the shell of the church, and carrying up the tower to the height of 35 feet, for which their accounts were from time to time allowed by the parish, but the particulars cannot now be collected with accuracy ...	834	17	0½

From A.D. 1768.

Peter Thompson, mason, for preparing windows for glazing	5	14	9
Harry Fowler for glazing	22	5	0
Castle for Smith's work to ditto ...	29	16	6
Solomon Gunston, for stucco work ...	124	18	0
Saunders, Mason, for jobbs	3	1	2
Swinton for pulpit, type, and rails to the altar	33	1	6
Carriage of ditto. Rails	0	17	0
Mr. Tuckwell for iron work	17	15	0
Fowler for plumber's work	3	6	8
Townsend for paving the church ...	21	9	0
Stevens for font	3	3	0
Read for painting	1	4	6
Cox and Absolon, carpenters	308	4	9

STATE LIBRARY PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

	£	s.	d.
Castle, Smith, for jobbs	2	0	11
Fuller for hassocks	1	6	2
Toovey for Bible and Prayer-books ...	2	9	0
Leaver for crimson velvet to the Pulpit and Communion Table	12	18	11
Ditto for surplice	4	4	0
Linen for Communion Table	0	14	1½
Total	1433	7	0
Brief and Subscriptions...	1294	7	0
Deficiency ...	139	0	0

"Which sum was raised by divers Rates on the Parishioners at sundry times, amounting in the whole to near five shillings in the pound."

"The Church was opened, and divine service performed therein, for the first time on the 29th day of June, being St. Peter's Day, A.D. 1769."

The Roll then gives "An account of monies received by collections on the Brief granted A.D. 1773, and by voluntary subscriptions for finishing the Tower of St. Peter's Church in Wallingford, erecting a Spire thereon, and furnishing the same with a Clock and Bell."

The list of subscribers contains the following names, among others for smaller amounts:—

	£	s.	d.
Sir Robert Barker, member	60	0	0
John Cater, Esq., member	60	0	0
Earl of Abingdon, high steward ...	50	0	0
Lord Craven	50	0	0
Shute, Lord Bishop of Landaff	30	0	0
Honble. Mr. Justice Blackstone... ...	30	0	0
William Nedham, Esq., Howberry, Oxon	30	0	0
John Elwes, Esq., Marcham, Berks ...	25	0	0
Christopher Griffith, Esq., Padworth, Berks	25	0	0
Winchcombe Henry Hartley, Esq., Bucklebury, Berks	25	0	0
Sir Will. Jones, Bart., Huntercombe, Oxon	20	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Henry Fludger, Esq., Wallingford ...	20	0	0
Francis Sykes, Esq., Basildon, Berks ...	20	0	0
John, Lord Bishop of Winchester ...	10	10	0
John, Lord Bishop of Salisbury ...	10	10	0
Honble. Thomas Wenman, recorder ...	10	10	0
All Souls College, Oxford	10	10	0
Robert Hucks, Esq., Clifton, Oxon ...	10	10	0
Seymour Richmond, Esq., Sparsholt, Berks	10	10	0
Mr. Joseph Tuckwell, Wallingford ...	10	10	0
Making a total with sundry smaller subscriptions of	751	17	6

The expenditure is thus given—

Mr. John Toovey, fees at the Sessions for brief				3	8	10
Advertisements				1	8	6
Emmanuel Williams, mason, pursuant to contract made 22nd February, 1776 ...				600	0	0
Ditto, for altering the tower window ...				6	10	6
Harry Fowler, for glazing ditto ...				3	4	6
Pack and Chapman, for bell				28	2	0
Thwaites, for clock				60	0	0
Richard Absolon, carpenter, for flooring, and stairs to tower	4	15	0			
Frame to bell	3	18	0			
Clock case	2	10	0			
Sundries	0	14	6			
				11	17	6
Robert Taylor, Esq., Architect				31	10	0
Total				£746	1	10

So that there remained a surplus of £5 15*s.* 8*d.*, which was agreed, at a vestry holden 22nd April, 1778, to be applied towards rebuilding the churchyard wall, between the street and the west end of the church; Mr. John Flamank then undertaking to give an iron gate to the same.

"Mr. Justice Blackstone also presented to the Church at

Easter, 1778, a Chalice, Paten, and Plate for the Communion, of silver double gilt."

TOTAL EXPENSES.

	£	s.	d.
Rebuilding Church and part of Tower	1408	11	9½
Finishing Tower, and erecting Spire ...	651	11	10
	2060	3	7½
Clock and Bell	94	10	0
Furniture	24	15	2½
	2179	8	10
Total Benefactions ...	2046	4	6
Defrayed by the Parish	£133	4	4

Extract of a letter from Mr. Robert Taylor to Mr. Justice Blackstone, dated 31st May, 1776 :—

"I earnestly desire no Bells may ever be placed in the Tower. But if there should be any, it will be absolutely necessary to fix them in Frames independent of the Tower; which was not constructed for *both* Bells *and* a Spire, in my opinion."

	feet	inches
Height of Tower	40	8
Height of Octagon	16	5
Height of Spire	51	9
Height of Vane and Spindle	9	6
Total height ...	118	4

The church consists of a nave only, without side aisles, and has an airy, light appearance, quite unknown in the ecclesiastical edifices of the present day, there being four large circular-headed windows on either side; the ceiling is elliptical, relieved by octagonal panels, tinted blue and pink, and ranged symmetrically in seven rows, running from end to end. At the west extremity is the square tower, the base of which forms a porch to the church, and serves for the transaction of the affairs of the parish. There was formerly a wainscot gallery for the singers, which has been taken down.

Man, in describing this church, states: "The pews are likewise of wainscot, and numbered, corresponding in neatness

to the whole interior of the building. Under the gallery is an elegant vase for the fount, of statuary marble on a short shaft or pillar, about ten inches high, including the bason—the whole consisting of one piece of marble. On the whole," he says, "this is one of the neatest and best adapted to this northern climate of any of our country churches, which are in general gloomy, cold, and damp, and calculated to inspire those who attend them rather with horror than devotion."

Perhaps most of us will take exception to these views, which were expressed some sixty or seventy years ago; but are we not in the present day, oftentimes, going to an extreme in the opposite direction? "Windows that exclude the light," are not altogether unknown in some of our modern churches.

Man proceeds as follows:—"There is a square tower at the west end, separated from the body of the church by a skreen. This tower is built with flints, and ornamented with stone quoins at each angle. From the summit of the tower rises an elegant, light, and lofty spire on an octangular base, with open tabernacle arches in each side; above the arches the spire is divided longitudinally into four equal parts by mouldings, each division gradually diminishing to the point or top of the spire, which is surmounted by a weather-cock. The sides of each of these four divisions have long narrow openings facing each other, which add much to the lightness of its appearance, though, perhaps, not quite consonant to the rules of architecture."

Man and others have fallen into a mistake in supposing that this spire was erected at the sole expense of Sir William Blackstone, as clearly appears by the extracts from the subscription list and accounts before set out; in the preparation and perpetuation of which the hand of the judge may be traced. To his exertions and influence, the rebuilding of the church and the spire was no doubt due, but his contribution to the cost appears to have been £80, in addition to the gift of the communion plate.

The nondescript spire has given rise to a good deal of architectural criticism, and the appearance of it quite prepares an observer for the remarks of the architect previously quoted, which are suggestive of caution, if it be ever in contemplation to hang more than one bell in the tower.

The remains of the distinguished judge lie buried in the family vault just within the chancel, which is approached from the outside—a black marble slab at the foot of the chancel steps, with the figure of a cock (the family crest) engraved on the upper part, and a death's head and two cross bones below, but without any inscription, is the only memorial within the church, of one who needed not the sculptor's art to perpetuate his fame.

Upon a stone slab, near the entrance at the west end, is inscribed—

"Mrs. Ann Crouche, widow, was buried the 20th Jan., 16XX, aged 88.

"Mrs. Eleanor Crouche, aged 77, died on the 20th Sept. . . ."

In the Lysons' "Berks," p. 402, it is stated: "In the old church, before its demolition, were several monuments of the family of Molins, as appears by Captain Symond's notes, particularly those of Sir Michael Molins, who died in 1615; and Elizabeth, Lady Molins, who died in 1622. She was the wife of Sir Barentyne Molins, who was made a Banneret, under the standard of France, at the siege of Amiens, in 1597. Sir Adrian Molins, their ancester, married the daughter and heir of R. Court, of Makeney, who was auditor to Prince Arthur.* This family, some of whom appear to have represented the Borough in Parliament, had their seat at Clapcote, in the parish of All Saints, on the north side of the Castle, anciently a manor, which belonged successively to the families of Bereford † and James; ‡ the site of Clapcote house, which has been long pulled down, belongs to the Rev. Mr. Barker.§ In St. Peter's Church were some tombs also of the ancient family of James of Wallingford, who represented the Borough in Parliament in the reign of King Edward III. The mansion belonging to this family was standing in 1644, near the bridge."

These families have been mentioned in former chapters.

The parsonage house belonging to this church is situated in Wood Street, in St. Leonard's parish, and at the time

* Berkshire pedigrees in the British Museum.

† Esch., Edw. I. ‡ Cart., Ric. II.

§ From whom it was purchased by the present owner, Charles Greenwood, Esq.

Skermer wrote his manuscript was, according to that authority, "inhabited by the minister of the Town," who, he adds, "holds by his Terrier all the Tithes that can be recovered. The presentation is in the Landlord of the houses on the south of the Church yard. The proprietor of Howbery farm hath pretended a right."

I have discovered nothing to imply a doubt as to the right of presentation, which was inherited successfully by Henry Blackstone and James Blackstone, Esquires, sons of Sir William, and afterwards by his grandson, William Seymour Blackstone, Esquire, who represented the borough in parliament during several years. Some years ago, the patronage passed by purchase to the late Bishop Wilberforce, when he held the Diocese of Oxford, and it is now vested in his successors.

St. Peter's is valued in the king's books at £6 1*s.* 3*d.*, as a discharged rectory.

In a former chapter I have quoted an order of Cromwell and his Council for uniting this and other Wallingford parishes, together with the parish of Crowmarsh Gifford. Howbery farm, referred to by Skermer, is situate in the last-named parish, and comprises a large portion of its area. At about the date of Skermer's manuscript, this property belonged to Lord Kilmorey, from whom the ownership passed to the Blackstone family; thus was effected a union of the two properties in one owner, and the rival claims to the presentation, if they ever existed as implied, would thus become merged. The priory estate comprised about three acres, and it is more than probable that in improving the property as a place of residence, Sir William acquired the ownership of the "houses south of the Church yard" referred to by Skermer.

The reference by the latter to "the minister of the Town" points to what was no doubt the fact, that at the date of the manuscript the churches, if more than one in use, were served by the same clergyman. There is no date to this manuscript, but the author, according to an inscription on his tomb in the churchyard of St. Mary's, died in 1716; and we have it recorded that in the years 1691 and 1699, and subsequently, the Rev. Samuel Shenstone was Rector of St. Mary's and St. Leonard's, and in 1712 he signs the

register book of baptisms for St. Peter's, as minister of that parish also. In 1721, he was succeeded in St. Mary's and St. Peter's by the Rev. Thomas Norton, who was also Rector of St. Leonard's about that time, but the date of institution is not given. It is pretty clear, therefore, that all the town parishes were served by one clergyman at the time spoken of by Skermer.

Incumbents of St. Peter's.

Simon de Marten	1320
Roger de Dencaster	1320
William Harryngworth	1327
Thomas de Sevenhampton	1339
Richard Marchaunt de Westreghwell ...	1349
Richard de Brightwalton	1352
John Mannyng	1361
Lawrence Morgan, instituted Rector of St. Peter's, with the united churches of St. Mary Minor and St. Michael's	1375
Geoffrey Keteringham	1376
Hughe Tybbe, called Sir Hugh *	1381
Stephen Marchulle succeeded soon after, for in 1382 he exchanged with John Bryd, vicar of Waybrugge: but Man points out that this must be a mistake, as Hugh Tybbe, by what follows in the register, appears to have held the rectory in 1386, when he exchanged with Richard Piperwhyt, Rector of Staunton	1386

Rectors since 1711.

The Rev. Samuel Shenstone	1711
The Rev. Thomas Norton	1721
The Rev. Thomas Wintle	1769
The Rev. Richard Bethell	1775
The Rev. William Mairis, D.D.	1807
The Rev. William Cokayne Frith, D.C.L. ...	
The Rev. William Hazel	
The Rev. James Loy	1868
The Rev. Henry Drought Sheppard, D.D., M.D.	1878

* See vol. ii. p. 15.

Church goods. On the 20th of January, 1551, Thomas Donnington and Hugh Clerk, churchwardens of the parish of St. Peter,* appeared before the mayor and others, and brought in the following ornaments of the church :—

"The best Chalice there, weighing $12\frac{1}{4}$ oz. Item, certain plate, silver of a cross, weighing $10\frac{1}{2}$ oz., and half a quarter of an oz. besides; the nails, $\frac{1}{2}$ an oz., unweighed, because they be in doubt whether they be silver, yea or nay. Total, $22\frac{3}{4}$ oz. . . . . [torn] . . . . delivered into the hands of Mr. Pollington [he was one of the aldermen of the Borough]. Item, one standing cup, parcel gilt, weighing $13\frac{1}{4}$ oz. [page defaced]."

The following inventory of church goods is given by Mr. Walter Money, p. 44, as delivered to Hughe Clerke and John Wriggellysworth, churchwardens, on 2nd August, 6 Edward VI. :—

"On challeys percell gylte, iij. belles and the santuous bell, one cope panyd w^{t} blewe cheker veluet w^{t} one other olde cope w^{t} byrdes of golde, ix. vestamentes good and bade, iij. albes w^{t} theire amessys, foure awter clothes, wherof ij. of theme be paynted and the other ij^{o} of saye, w^{t} iiij^{or} curtegns of saye, collo^{r} redd and yellowe, ij^{o} towells and iij. corporaces w^{t} their casses, and alle the seid percells safely to be kept and preserued."

Beauty and talent appear to have been well represented in this parish a century ago. The author of the Commentaries may be classed among the foremost of the learned men of his time; and the personal attractions of the innkeeper's three daughters were such, that the story of their beauty, their graceful figures, and alliances is current at the present day. The fortunate host was Thomas Clack, landlord of the Lamb Hotel in High Street, formerly called the Bell. He had by his two wives three sons and seven daughters, all of whom were baptized in St. Peter's Church; the eldest, a son, in 1721, and the youngest, also a son, in 1745. But the belles of the Bell were in number three only. Frances, who was born in 1738, married William, second Viscount Courtenay (then a minor), on the 7th day of May, 1762, and had by him thirteen daughters and one son, the son being the third viscount. Another daughter married Sir

* Corporation Ledger, p. 50.

John Honeywood, Bart., of Evington, in the county of Kent; and, as the story goes, the third was married to some titled person, but whose name I cannot find.

According to Debrett's "Peerage," the eldest child of Lord and Lady Courtenay was Frances, born in the month of January, 1763, who married in December, 1779, Sir John Honeywood, Bart., her first cousin by her mother's side.

Register Books.

The earliest register book of baptisms and burials in this parish commences in 1711 and ends in 1812. That of marriages is endorsed No. 2, and commences in 1769, ending in 1812.

The following documents are deposited among the parochial records:—

A terrier, containing the names of fifty-nine persons, by whom sundry small sums, varying from 5*s.* to 2*d.*, appear to have been payable;—it is headed, "A List of Quarteridge due to the Parson of St. Peter's in Wallingford, Ann. Dom. 1634, 2nd October;" and it bears the signatures of "Rob. Cox, Anthonie Bolter, churchwardens."

A parchment roll headed "Burrough of Wallingford. A rental for the burrough aforesaid from the 29th September, 1690, to the 29th of September, 1691, collected by . . . and . . . Loader." It contains 138 entries of rents and quit rents belonging to the corporation of Wallingford, varying from £3 14*s.* to a pepper-corn, but chiefly of small amounts.

The situation of four inns or public-houses, the names of which have long since been discontinued, is given as under:—

The Elephant and Castle and the Bell in High Street, and the Feathers and the Black Boy in St. Martin's Lane.

A parchment document, without date, is entitled:—"A terrier of all my land that belongeth to the Priory of Wallingford as it is set down by Richard Pridden." It contains description of sundry pieces of land in and near Wallingford, thirty-four in number, and of certain rights of pasturage for sheep and lambs: and it states the ownership of the tithes in respect of the lands described, whereby it appears that the larger amount was payable to "All Hollows," next to "myself," and in a few instances to St. Peter's.

Churchwardens' Accounts.

The existing accounts of the churchwardens commence at Easter, 1720, and a rate of small amount was made annually for disbursements, that partake of the same character every year. Visitation and perambulation expenses, wine for communion, clerk for presentments and for cleaning the churchyard, are items that invariably appear, the orthography being, I presume, peculiar to the age. Here are a few of the entries:—

		£	s.	d.
1739.	Spent at possessioning	1	2	0
1742.	For a dinner and Ale and Roles at the possessioning	1	1	0
1744.	P$^{d.}$ the "Paritor"	0	5	10
	For Pentecostal oblations ...	0	12	4
1754.	Adean, bill for mend the Geat ...	0	3	0
1759.	P$^{d.}$ the Passon the Rrent for the Church yard	0	10	0
	P$^{d.}$ a part towards the milisha chages	0	18	0
	P$^{d.}$ Mr. Clack for Licker at the Seshons for the Pshish ...	0	8	0

The annual payments for "wine for communion," and the regular appointment of churchwardens, show that the old church had not been entirely destroyed prior to 1760, when it is said the "rebuilding" commenced. Still, the items of disbursements for repairs refer exclusively to the churchyard wall and gate, and not to the church. Mr. Thomas Clack was one of the churchwardens during the years 1742–1744 inclusive.

Allhallows, or All Saints.

An historical account of this church, in which is shown the devolution and wrongful appropriation of the tithes from an early period, with other particulars, has been already given at some length.

Man, in his manuscript, purports to give a translation of the Inquisition 56 Henry III., and states that the original is in an imperfect condition. The document has not much bearing upon this part of our subject, except as showing to whom the patronage of the three churches therein named belonged, but I give it in full from the perfect original in the Public

Record Office, in order to correct a mistake into which Man has fallen, particularly with respect to the value of the churches, which, according to his translation, were worth "All Saints 6*s*., St. Peter's 11*s*., and St. Michael's . . ."

[Translation.]

"Extent of the Lord the King of Germany of his borough of Wallingford, in the county of Berks, made on Friday next before Palm Sunday, in the fifty-sixth year of the reign of King Henry, son of King John, before Lord Fulk de Rucote, or Encote, and William Avener, sub-escheators of our Lord the King of England, by the oath of twelve lawful men; to wit, Robert de Louthis, Master Peter, William de Lawyke, John le Hyne, John de Sancto Edmundo, John Novaunt, Richard le Ken, Everard le Suur, Henry Beumund, Peter Morny, Randolph Lorfeuere, Robert Kempe; who say upon their oath that the said Lord, the King of the Germans, held the said Borough in capite of the Lord the King of England, and it is worth per annum forty pounds and ten shillings for blanch farms with the advowsons of three churches in the said borough. Of which the church of All Saints is worth one hundred shillings (100*s*.), and the church of St. Peter is worth forty shillings (40*s*.), and the church of St. Michael is worth the service of the same church. They say also, that the Lord Edmund, son of the said King of Germany, is his next heir, and is of the age of twenty-two years and more. Also the name of the Bailiff of the said Borough is Nicholas le Orfeuere. Sum, £40 10*s*."

St. Mary-the-Minor, or the-Less.

This church was united to St. Peter's in the year 1374 with the church of St. Michael, and is supposed to have stood in High Street, where, according to Skermer, "Mr. Thompson, a baker, lived in his time; and the churchyard was Mr. John Goodwin's back yard. In digging a cellar," he adds, "the bricklayers came upon a heap of human bones."

On the south of the High Street opposite the premises belonging to the bridge estate, formerly called the Bear Inn, there are the groined remains of what was supposed to have been a crypt indicative of the site of this church, having till lately a stone staircase leading from it, not to the street, but

Stanley Leighton, del.

Littleton Wilday, lith. 9, Castle St. Holborn, London, E.C.

STONE VAULTING IN A CELLAR IN HIGH STREET, WALLINGFORD.

in an eastward direction. The presence of two *piscinæ* at the south-west end also encouraged the view entertained; but Mr. James Henry Parker, of Oxford, who has recently inspected this arched work, considers that it was brought from some other building, and used in the construction of a merchant's cellar or store-room. In two places at Oxford, he states, a similar use had been made of a stone arched ceiling which had been removed.

There are documents among the corporation papers which refer to stalls in the yard of this church, particularly in the reign of Henry III. Although it was customary in those days to erect stalls for merchandise in churchyards, I do not find stalls expressly mentioned in connection with any other churchyard in the town.

Skermer, who appears to have been very diligent in searching and inspecting the early registers, gives one presentation only to this church, namely, "John Berewyk was Rector, 8th September, 1349." Probably Berewyk was the last incumbent, for on the union of this and St. Michael's Church to St. Peter's in July, 1374, John Manny was instituted rector of the united churches.

St. Mary-the-Minor is mentioned as a parish, *temp.* Henry III.

St. John's-super-Aquam.

This church was situated in Thames Street, and was united to St. Peter's in 1452. In several old title-deeds the name is retained as descriptive of the land on which it is supposed to have stood, namely, on the north of the mansion called Castle Priory. In a conveyance dated February, 1764, an "orchard called St. John's-*super-Aquam*" is described as in the occupation of the late Sir William Blackstone, "extending from Thames Street eastward to the river Thames, and abutting north on premises of Jeremiah Morrell, on the south on the capital messuage, or manor house, formerly in the occupation of John Cottingham, and then of the said Sir William Blackstone."

This description is confirmatory of what Skermer says, that the church stood between Mr. Bigg's and the chapel in Thames Street. Mr. Bigg occupied the priory, and what is now called the "new road" was made at the instance of

Sir William Blackstone, in substitution for a public road which ran nearer to his house.

As the name denotes, the church stood above the river, and was thus distinguished from St. John the Baptist, which was situated without the south gate.

St. John's-super-Aquam is also mentioned as a parish in the archives of the corporation, *temp.* Henry III.

St. Martin's Church.

This church is supposed to have stood near the street of that name, on the south-west of St. Mary's Church. Skermer, evidently referring to this church, but the name of which he does not give, says, "There stood a church upon the garden ground between the 'Black Boy' and the 'Lamb,' formerly called the 'Bell.' Human bones and skulls were lately dug up there, half a dung-cart full at least. In the year 1712, a cellar and gravel pit were opened in part of the ground aforesaid, where was found a great quantity of bones, lying in order in tombs made in the ground with stones and mortar. They found, also, foundations of the church."

Man points to the same spot when he says it probably stood between Goldsmith's Lane and St. Martin's Lane, where there appeared to have been formerly a church, and a passage leading through the churchyard to the above lanes. In the records of the town St. Martin's Lane is mentioned.

Incumbents.

Johannes Piscator, or John Fisher, was rector in the year 1298, but the date of institution does not appear.	
Geoffrey de Wallingford, instituted	9th May, 1300
Philip de Pontefracto	9th Jan., 1301
John de Chipston	18th June, 1304
Nicholas de Branham	28th Sept., 1316
John de St. Albans	10th Aug., 1319
Adam de Wytteneye	27th Aug., 1325
Walter de Hilmenden	15th May, 1342
Thomas Atte Watere, presented but was not admitted because one Thomas Were, by a mandate	27th Aug., 1344

from Pope Clement VI., was inducted on	13th Sept., 1344
Thomas Boacre	20th Sept., 1348
William de Westhenreth	30th April, 1351
John de Aston, succeeded on and exchanged with Robert Carlton, who had a chapel in the diocese of St. Asaph.	15th May, 1362
John Harpeden instituted, and on exchanged with Stephen Muryel, who held a living in London	23rd June, 1382
John Bryd succeeded, and on exchanged with Thomas Batte, rector of Whaddon, Bucks.	7th June, 1385
Thomas Batte, exchanged on the with Thomas Pulteneye, Vicar of Mapledurham.*	27th June, 1386

St. Michael's Church.

It appears, by inquisition, that St. Michael's churchyard adjoined to some ground called Tobyns, or Fobbyns; this ground was conveyed by the deed above referred to, dated in 1764, and was part of the castle priory estate, in the occupation of the late Sir William Blackstone, being in the rear of the house. The following description by Skermer may, therefore, be considered correct:—

"This church stood over against Mrs. Wing's wharf-house (Lower wharf); the churchyard is bounded westward by an Elm, and eastward by the way leading to St. Leonard's Church. The minister of St. Peter's does now receive rent for the ground as a part of his Glebe." The words in the Inquisition are thus translated:—"Radulphus Broke, rector of the Church of St. Peter, has a plot of ground, called St. Michael's churchyard, next to a ground called Tobin's."

Incumbents.

Adam de Brightwell	18th Dec., 1330
Walter de Haryngworth	12th May, 1339
Robert Jecop de Clifton, on the resignation of John de Kymesford	2nd Sept., 1342

* MSS. History.

Robert Spark	22nd April, 1344
John Eylmer	14th April, 1346
John Carswelle	8th March, 1348
John Eylmer, on the death of John Walter de Stafford ...	21st Nov., 1348

St. Rumbold's, or St. Ruald's Church.

I cannot discover in what part of the town this church was situated. Skermer mentions a church "in a plot of ground now in the possession of Mr. Westall. In the year 1712," he says, "bones and skulls, lying in order, were taken up there. Over against it is the churchyard, now let to Mr. Riggins, the minister of Wallingford." Doubtless the church referred to is St. Rumbold's, which is the only one the situation of which cannot be traced with some degree of certainty.

The Bishops' Registers give the names of the following incumbents of this church:—

Thomas Rowland was inducted ... on the resignation of William, a former rector.	31st Jan., 1306
Roger de Esthenreth, on the resignation of John Rowland ...	14th Nov., 1342
Philip Heron	12th July, 1348
Alan de Kerkebi	22nd Aug., 1348
Nicholas de Circestro	20th April, 1352

St. Peter-in-the-West.

"This was situated," says Skermer, "in the corner of the Kenny, now called Kine Croft, near Mr. Longland's, and over against Stone Hall. Bricks and tiles have been dug up, which show that buildings were there." The site of this church is probably now occupied by some of the buildings belonging to the brewery. Recent excavations in the irregular ground in the Kine Croft, near the Turnpike Road, further eastward than the spot above indicated, have not led to the discovery of anything beyond some large-sized clinkards.

The discovery of human bones in Wallingford is by no means a rare occurrence, and when not found in perfect order, must not be taken as evidence of the existence of a churchyard at the spot. About fifty years ago, in lowering

a bank on the west of the second moat, which now forms part of the lawn around this house, a large number of human skeletons were found—so many, that it may almost be said they formed a complete stratum for a considerable space; no order was observed in the burial of the bodies, and the conjecture was that they must have fallen in battle, and that the earth had been thrown over them. There was a remarkable peculiarity in all the skulls, which appeared to belong to a remote age. So far as my recollection serves me, there was scarcely one with the ordinary type of forehead; abrupt recession from the eyebrows was the uniform characteristic, and most of the skulls were particularly thick. The late Dr. Buckland came over to inspect the *locus in quo*, was greatly interested, and took away with him to Oxford several of the skulls.

In 1877, another discovery of human skeletons, in considerable numbers, was made just within the outer entrenchment, in the ground on the south of Goldsmith's Lane, upon which the newly erected foundry of Messrs. Wilder now stands. These skeletons are stated to have been all of large size, and, so far as could be observed, were of males only. They were not lying in any order, excepting one, which particularly attracted attention from its great size and perfect state. This was protected by rough stone slabs, placed edgeways on either side; and near it was a piece of stone about twelve inches square, which was hollowed in the centre, as if to receive the head. With this exception, there was no trace of any coffin. The probability is that these also were the skeletons of soldiers who had fallen in battle. One skeleton, from its position and twisted shape, was pronounced by a medical gentleman who inspected it to have been that of a man who had died in agony.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

HONOR OF EWELME.*

COMPUTUS of the receivers, and other officers, of lands united to the said honor by the authority of Parliament, from Mich., 31 Hen. viij. [1539], to Mich., 32 Hen. viij. [1540]:—

Castle and Manor of Wallingford.

Account of Robt. Lorde, bailiff.
Arrears, nil.

Rent of Assize in Wallingford.

Of Great St. John, Wallingford, for a tenement late belonging to Wm. Marcell, in Clopcote, Berks.	1 lb. cumin and 1½*d.*
Tenement in Clopcote, late held by Edm. Berford and Hen. Bedon	6*s.* 8*d.*
Two tenements in Clopcote, late held by Wm. Marcell	4*d.* and 2*d.*
Tenement of Wm. de Were	12*d.*
From John Grabe, for a tenement in Longworthen	7*s.* 11½*d.*
From John James, for 5 acres, late of Roger of the Kitchen (*de Coquina*) and Wm. Cornwall ...	5*s.*
For a place near the Hall of Pleas in Wallingford, late of Wm. Bosyng	6*d.*
Tenement in Wallingford, late of Hen. de Porta ...	11*d.*
For the tenement of John Frelond, in Crendon, Bucks.	1*d.*
From Thos. Doyle, for a monthly cloth, for a tenement in Oxford	4*s.*

* Ministers' Accounts, 31–32 Henry VIII., Oxford, No. 4, Public Record Office.

From the Abbot of Oseney, for a tenement in Oxford		6*s.*	11*d.*
From Nic. At Water, for a tenement in Hikkeford, Bucks.			6*d.*
Rent of a tenement in Flatmerston, late of Wm. Vlound			1*d.*
New rent of 1 croft and 1 acre of land in Ewelme, fallen to the King by escheat at the death of Wm. Chapman, and let to Beatrice de Rooke ...			6*d.*
From Nic. Bother for rent of 1 toft in Ekeborne Magna, fallen to the lord by escheat at the death of Dicon de Baston			12*d.*
Rent of a house near the Hall of Pleas in Wallingford, exchanged with John James		4*s.*	
Rent of a place near Newbury, newly built by John Salford, in the lord's hands, because Geoffrey, villein (*nativus*) of the prince, died without heirs		1*s.*	8*d.*
Rent of Fenellgrove, near Wycombe, let to Wm. Elmere		13*s.*	4*d.*
Rent of a tenement in Oxford called Maungerha ...		6*s.*	11*d.*
Total ...		60*s.*	8*d.*

Rent of Assize of St. Valery.

The rent of the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem in England in Horspath	£9		
From John de Berkeley, for tenements in Shirshame, Northants		40*s.*	
Manors of Westbury and Radclyeff, Bucks. ...		106*s.*	8*d.*
Manor of Fulbroke, Oxford		2*s.*	
Manor of Warton, Oxford		53*s.*	4*d.*
Manor in Shirbourne, late held by John Rouell and Wm. Pissemer		9*s.*	
Tenement in Estethorp, Oxfordsh., late held by John Daubeney		15*s.*	
From the Prioress of Littlemore, for the 20th part of a knight's fee in Foreshill, Oxon			1*d.*
Manor of Shirborne, late held by Henry Treys for one York bow and 3 barbed arrows			12*d.*
A forge in Forsehill, late held by the Prioress of Stodeley			1*d.*
Manor of Halghton			1*d.*
Manor of Crendon, for a bow and three arrows ...			12*d.*
Rent in Fulbroke		2*s.*	9*d.*
Rent of John Maunsell, in Pusie		2*s.*	
Rent of 2 bushels of corn for tenements in Pusie ...			8*d.*

Rent of John Gombe, in Pusie		2*s.*	
Rent of J. Gombe (corn), in Pusie			4*d.*
Rent late of John Note and others, in Hampshire ...		100*s.*	
Rent of the heirs of Adam Puriton, for tenements in Calcote, Wilts.		60*s.*	
Hidage in Berks		4*s.*	
Rent of John Castelyon, of Thorneton, Bucks. ...		2*s.*	
"Wardepens," at Elsington			5*d.*
20*s.* rent in Sherborne, which lately was of John Caradons, junr., is not received here because the said 20*s.* was recovered beyond the manor of the prince, by Ric. Quatermaynes by process, as is contained in former accounts, viz. of 15 and 22 Edw. IV. and 2 Ric. III., and divers other accounts			
Total ...	£29	2*s.*	5*d.*

Rents newly acquired.

For the manor of Fulbroke, Oxford, etc.		10*s.*	3*d.*
From Thos. Overstrete, tiler, and Frances Fonge, of Latermers, *alias* Hampste, near Wycombe, for licence of digging clay and lime in a pit, granted by Wm. Belson, late Understeward of Wallingford		3*s.*	
Total ...		13*s.*	3*d.*

Gainery of the Castle.

"Carting silver," from the tenants of Clopcote ...		6*s.*	
Farm of the fishery in the Thames, near Kyngesmede, let to John George, *alias* Arnold, 25 Feb., 14 H. viij.	24*s.* and 33*s.* 4*d.* to the Bailiff of Bensington.		
Fishery where the fulling-mill stands, and the meadow called Queneherber (4 acres), let to Lambert Osbarston, of Wallingford		20*s.*	
A meadow called Northiet, near the Thames and the fulling-mill, let to John Cheyne, of Wallingford		16*s.*	
Part of Kyngesmede (33 acres), let to Lambert Osbarston, Mayor of Wallingford, and his successors, for the use of themselves and the tenants and inhabitants of the town *	£7	2*s.*	

* Patent Roll, 18 Henry VIII., p. 1, m. 10.

The three remaining acres belong to the Dean of the College in the Castle, the porter and the auditor.			
One acre in Clopcote, in the tenure of the heir of Sir Wm. Rede			6*d.*
The profits of the pasture within the gate of the Castle belong to the porter.			
The fish in the moats are reserved for the use of the King, when at Ewelme or Windsor.			
Total ...	£10	8*s.*	6*d.*

Rent of Mills and Toll of Fairs.

The mill at the gate of the town, let to John Underhill, Dean of the College in the Castle, by patent dated 17 April, 19 Hen. viij.	£8	6*s.*	8*d.*
Farm of the toll of the fair at Crowmershe, and toll of various articles passing through the town ...		20*s.*	
Total ...	£9	6*s.*	8*d.*

Fee Farm.

Wallingford	£42		
Rowleshame, let to John Ailesburye		6*s.*	8*d.*
Total ...	£42	6*s.*	8*d.*

Farm of the Ferry.

Ferry and fishery at Shillingfordeshey, let to Roger Hacheman...		33*s.*	4*d.*

Profits of Courts of Wallingford.

Courts held at Rysynden, Cherington, Okeburne, Ardington, Donington, Purley, Clopcote, Clophame, Wavingdon, Wingrave, Queynton, Shovyngden, Burcettour, Little Marlow, Okehyde, Woxbrydge, and Wycombe. Profits at Bedyngton, and Chedyngton near Croydon, let to Sir Nic. Carew, attainted; Courts held in divers counties			
Total ...	£15	14*s.*	1*d.*

Profits of Courts of St. Walery.

Held at Clanfeld, Thorp, Horspath, Westburye, Hinton, Sutton, Alington, Depeden, Knyghtden, Ayleton and Northosseney	£9	9*s.*	0½*d.*

Profits of the Courts of the Four Chiltern Hundreds.

Held at Chakenden, Ewelme, Bynfeld, Chalgrave, Chynnour, Great Hassely, Shirborne, Aston Roohaunte, and Mapuldurhame	£8	5*s.*	0½*d.*
Court held at Lukenour		6*s.*	
Court held at Ewelme		2*s.*	6*d.*
Court held at Binfield		1*s.*	6*d.*
Court held at Pyrton		3*s.*	6*d.*
Hidage...	£12	9*s.*	6*d.*
"Wardepens"		9*s.*	0½*d.*
Salt, pottery, etc., at Bensington and Stokenchurche		1*s.*	2*d.*
Total ...	£21	18*s.*	3*d.*

Goods of Felons and Fugitives, nil.

Escheats, Ward, Reliefs, etc., nil.

Total receipts ...	£143	12*s.*	10½*d.*

Fees and Wages.

Robt. Laward, *alias* Lord, Receiver	£10		
Other allowances, principally for sums previously paid by dissolved monasteries, repairs of the mill, etc....	£91	9*s.*	3*d.*
To the Queen's tenants of Calecote, Wilts., for their arrears of rent of lands late belonging to the heirs of Adam de Puriton	£1	1*s.*	9½*d.*

APPENDIX II.

FEE FARM AND QUIT RENTS.

The following statement of the quit rents of the borough is taken from the Bailiff's Account-book, entitled "Of all and singular the messuages, houses, lands, tenements, and rents, belonging to the fee farm of the borough of Wallingford, in the county of Berks; made and renewed the 17th day of March, 1584, and the twenty-sixth year of our sovereign Queen Elizabeth."

(Signed) Albon Rusden, Mayor.
—— Clark, } Bailiffs.
John Smyth, }

High Street, extending from the Bridge Foot unto the West Gate.

Rent by Lease, first of—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Albon Spencer, for the tenement called the Mary Grace ...	0	13	4
Gregory Waterer, for the house in his tenure	0	7	4
Thomas Donnington, alderman, for the shop in his tenure	0	6	8
Thomas Saunders, for the shop in his tenure	0	6	8
Richard Fisher, ditto	0	6	8
John Smith, for the corn-shop in his tenure	0	3	4
William Bigg, for his wood-house	0	3	0
	£2	7	0

Quit Rents, first of—

Albon Spencer, for a piece of ground lying by the Mary Grace	0	1	0
William Dyer, for his house and for the forge-house, and for the burned house by the Mary Grace	0	3	0
Henry Cooke, for the house called Kemsalls	0	2	0
Albon Spencer, for his house	0	0	2
The parson's house of St. Peter's, now in the tenure of Robert Cooper	0	1	0
Thomas Hip, for his house	0	1	0
William Nightingale, for his house...	0	1	0
—— Hunley, for his house	0	2	0
Nicholas Horne, for his house	0	2	0
Thomas Quelch, for his house	0	3	2
John Pawlinge, for his house	0	2	10
Carried forward	0	19	2

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	0	19	2
Richard Brockett, for his house	0	1	4
Thomas Saunders, for his house	0	1	3
Thomas Donnington, alderman, for the George	0	3	2
John Quelch, alderman, for the house next the New Inn...	0	2	2
John Quelch, alderman, for the New Inn	0	8	3
Richard Neighbour, for the corn-shop	0	0	6
John Quelch, alderman, for the house called Connens ...	0	8	5
John Matthew, tailor, for his house	0	3	0
Thomas Good, for his house	0	1	2
William Bigg, for the house called the Bell	0	7	7
Richard Neighbour, for his house	0	2	0
Edward Clarke, gent., for the Priory land	1	10	4
Ralph Pollington, alderman, for a shop	0	0	4
	£4	8	8

FISH STREET, EXTENDING FROM HIGH STREET UNTO THE SOUTH GATE.

Rent by Lease, first of—

John Quelch, alderman, for the messuage by him newly builded by St. Mary's Church and the orchard thereunto adjoining, in the tenure of his son	0	10	0
James Higgins, for his house	0	6	8
Thomas Maskell, for a lane into Wood Street	0	0	3
Henry Clarke, for a garden abutting upon the church ground of St. Mary's	0	0	4
Thomas Sutton, for his house	0	12	0
	£1	9	3

Quit Rents, first of—

Thomas Maskell, for his house	0	5	0
Richard Fisher, for his house	0	3	0
Robert Hamert, for the great house of Mr. Pollington ...	0	4	0
Widow Cotterell and Edward Holworth, for the two new houses against the said house	0	9	0
Thomas Fayerbrother, for the house called Hewsters ...	0	1	6
John Cowdrye, for the house late in the tenure of John Leach	0	2	0
Edward Byton, alderman, for his house	0	6	0
Peter Cotterell, for a house called Choles	0	4	0
Henry Waterer, for his house	0	0	6
John Pollington, for his house	0	2	0
Carried forward	1	17	0

	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward	1	17	0
Alexander Allen, for his house	0	3	0
Richard Borrowdale, for his house	0	1	0
John King, for his house	0	0	6
Widow Mousdall, for her house	0	0	10
Peter Inglish, for his house	0	3	0
Edmund Broadwater, for his house	0	3	0
Thomas Bristow, for his house	0	2	6
George Chancellour, for his house	0	3	0
Bridge House, now in the tenure of Widow Harbond and others	0	4	10
John Hutchings, for his house	0	1	0
Henry Clarke, for his house...	0	3	7
William Bannister, for his house	0	2	0
Thomas Tyler, for the house late in the tenure of Thomas Maynard	0	1	8
—— Bowden, for his house	0	1	0
Richard West, alderman, for his house	0	3	2
John North, for his house	0	2	0
John Rakestraw, for the corner house, late of Saint John's land	0	1	0
	£3	14	1

Wood Street, extending from High Street to the Mill Ditch.

Rent by Lease.

Ralph Pollington, alderman, for a close called Jogan Hayte, charged with Pond Close, in Thames Street	0	0	0

Market Place.

Rent by lease, nothing.

Quit Rent.

Thomas Taylor, for the house called the Cock	0	3	0
William Cheyney, for his house	0	4	0
	£0	7	0

St. John's and St. John's Field.

Rent by lease, nothing.

Quit Rents.

Nicholas Payne, gent., for the farm and lands called St. John's, in his tenure	3	14	8
John Rakestraw, for the corn-house, late the parcel of St. John's lands, and now charged in Fish Street... ...	0	0	0
—— Hutchely, for four acres of land in St. John's field ...	0	1	8
	£3	16	4

KENNY CROFT LANE.

Rent by Lease.

	£.	s.	d.
William Butler, for his house	0	2	0
Albon Rusden, mayor, for a piece of ground called Beansheaves, and a close upon the north of the Queen's ...	0	1	0
	£0	3	0

Quit Rent.

Ralph Pollington, alderman, for a close called Beansheaves	0	1	6

SOUTH GATE.

Rent by Lease.

Nicholas Payne, gent., for a close without the same gate, between the lanes going to Winterbrook	0	0	10
Thomas Hurste, for a peaked close between the said two lanes next Winterbrook	0	2	6
	£0	3	4

PORTMAN'S FIELD.

Rent by lease, nothing.

Quit Rents.

Mr. Williamson, for five acres of land, late Mr. Read's, and now Mr. Brickenden's, belonging to the house of Thomas Hill, in High Street	0	7	3
Nicholas Carter, for three acres of land there	0	1	0
	£0	8	3

APPENDIX III.

KINE CROFT BANKS.

Circumstances have lately occurred which rendered necessary an application to the Court of Chancery for an interim injunction to restrain the action of a Committee of the Town Council, who—under, no doubt, a supposition of right—ordered the south end of the time-honoured earthworks, known as the Kine Croft Banks, to be levelled, in order to form a cart-road to some adjoining cottages. The injunction has now, by consent, been made perpetual:* and thus the preservation of the ramparts and the foot-way along the top, and of the Kine Croft, as a place of public recreation, is secured, the defendants being at liberty, if they think fit, to make a cart-way of a limited width opposite the cottages mentioned, provided the footpath on the top of the bank, at that spot, be not less than six feet wide.

It would have been more agreeable to me to abstain from all reference to this litigation, but it is necessary, in a work of this description, to record the judgment which so materially affects the interests of the present and future inhabitants of the borough.

* "Chancery Division, Vice-Chancellor Hall, 21st July, 1881. Her Majesty's Attorney-General, at the relation of John Kirby Hedges, plaintiff; the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Wallingford, defendants."

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